

# PEACE NEWS

No. 183

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2d.

## THIS IS THE NEW TARGET

The civil population ... women and children as well as men, the aged and infirm as well as the able-bodied ... such are the victims of ...

WAR : 1939



## WOMEN GIVE A LEAD FOR PEACE

This issue of "Peace News" is dedicated to the support of the magnificent lead towards peace given by the Women's Peace Campaign.

Tomorrow a nation-wide drive to rally women to the cause of peace will be inaugurated with a mass meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, where the speakers will include Dame Sybil Thorndike, Vera Brittain, Ruth Fry, Mary Gamble, Mrs. Innes, and the mother of a conscientious objector. Similar meetings, some accompanied by demonstrations, will also be held throughout the country.

In the following article Mary Gamble, member of the National Executive of the Peace Pledge Union and chairman of the Campaign, explains the purpose and emphasizes the urgency of the new movement.

By MARY GAMBLE

(Chairman, Women's Peace Campaign)

BY the time *Peace News* is in the hands of its readers, the final preparations for our big Women's Demonstration tomorrow (Saturday) will be nearly complete, and I would appeal to all of you who are women—if you have not already given your full support—to come in at the last minute and, by your help and energy, make our demonstration really indicative of women's deep desire for peace.

It was a grievous disappointment to us to learn that our silent march through London had been banned under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act. Our freedom is indeed in danger, grave danger, not from the tyranny of German Nazi-ism, but from the totalitarianism at home which is the inevitable outcome of war.

## A Recall to Reason

BROUGHT into existence during the last war to express women's rejection of the futility of the war method, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom today reaffirms its faith and issues a call to women everywhere.

The United States was among the five countries whose representatives were able to attend the meeting at Geneva of the International Executive, from December 5 to 8. That meeting issued the following statement:

In a world of war we come together to seek the road toward peace in a world founded on justice and freedom.

We recognize that the Governments of the world have persistently refused to use peaceful means for the adjustment of international disputes and for the remedying of injustices.

As a result of this we find ourselves again involved in war, which threatens to engulf the world and destroy civilization. Brutality and aggression seem to dominate the world, and the freedom of men is in many places blotted out.

Nevertheless, even in this moment of chaos we believe in the essential dignity and sanity of mankind, and we believe that out of the present disorder a new and better world can and will arise.

We reaffirm our conviction that the method of war is impotent to bring either justice or the foundation of peace and freedom into being. We therefore appeal to women everywhere to maintain their belief in methods of reason and to work for the employment of these methods in the safeguarding of human rights.

Further, we urge that the Governments of the neutral countries should at this time with patience and with persistence seek avenues for mediation, taking opportunities to open the way to negotiation.

And more especially we appeal to the President of the United States of America to call a conference of all neutral countries, having as its aim the putting forward of recommendations to the belligerent countries for the ending of conflict on such terms as will secure a just and durable peace.

### Struggle for Freedom

In the past women have struggled for freedom; freedom to express their opinions, to choose their own careers, to live their lives in economic independence. But the freedom for which we are striving today is of far wider significance, namely, the freedom of all peoples to live in peace and security.

When our statesmen assure us it is for that we are fighting. I wonder if they realize the implications involved. We know that that freedom can never be attained by war. War means mutilated bodies, and shattered lives, and ruined homes, and broken hearts, and children slowly dying from starvation.

War finally brings not freedom, but the unspeakable horror of widespread anarchy. So, before the degradation finally sets in, and the vindictiveness of reprisal plunges us into the pit of destruction, we plead with all the power we possess for a cessation of this futile and inhuman war.

### Faith Needed

Confident that we are expressing the deepest feelings of thoughtful women throughout Europe, we show our readiness to work for the new social order which alone will make peace a reality.

The future will mean sacrifices. Without faith we can do nothing. A faith as strong as that possessed by the women who followed Jesus of Nazareth on his last, sad journey.

## Women Must Awaken To Save Humanity!

WHEN Olive Schreiner published her famous book, *Women and Labour*, nearly thirty years ago, she prophesied that when woman took her place beside man and shared with him the obligations of political responsibility, that day would herald the death of war as a means of arranging human differences.

This prophecy, unhappily, has not yet come true. Recently, when a questioner from a North of England audience asked me: "Why don't women work for peace in the same way as they worked for the vote?" I could only echo regretfully: "Why, indeed?" For I realized as keenly as the speaker that the prospect of war's ultimate banishment would be far more hopeful if democratic women put the same energy into their quest for peace as they once put into woman suffrage.

A certain number of organized women, such as the Women's International League and the Women's Co-operative Guilds, are, it is true, working for a warless world. A few gifted women writers, such as Storm Jameson, Rose Macaulay, and the late Winifred Holtby, have given much of their time and talents to the cause of peace. But behind the handful of women in the van of the peace movement in various countries, a terrible inert mass of womanhood does nothing and cares little for the growing threat of modern war to our civilization and our homes.

This widespread apathy constitutes, in its own way, as great a danger to our children's future as the menace of Fascism itself. All through history, the inertia of the many has led to the death of more societies than the misapplied vigour of the few. Why is it, we may well ask, that

says



VERA BRITTAİN

women, who have so much to lose in war, are still so far from displaying the energy and initiative with regard to its abolition that Olive Schreiner and other suffrage leaders expected?

In a recent essay, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., provided one explanation. "Progress for women," she writes, "has been rapid where it depended on political action, slow when it depended on changes in heart and habits." A change of habit depends upon political consciousness, and for the great majority of English women this consciousness is still unawakened. Their experience of political power is as yet too brief, and only the younger women voters

have received any political training as part of their education. Victorian and Edwardian schoolrooms were more interested in the marriage market than in politics. Only since the Great War have newspapers been systematically read in girls' schools, and teaching given on current events.

A further explanation lies in the type of moral education inflicted in their youth upon women of the older and middle generations. Almost without exception, the young female conscience of twenty years ago was ruthlessly trained in the virtues of meekness, patience, self-effacement, and resignation to what was falsely known as "the inevitable." Women were assumed to be powerless to defend them-

(Continued on back page)



**Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"**

# Capitalism in Collapse :: Lesson of Stretford :: Hopes of Mediation Are Not Yet Dead

**THOUGH** written before the League meetings this week, the following contribution by Wilfred Wellock provides the background to developments at Geneva:

"The invasion of Finland is the latest step on a road which, if continued, will carry Europe with accelerating speed to an abyss of hopeless destruction and chaos from which she will not be able to retreat even though, at the last moment, she may want to."

"One of the major tragedies of a war situation is that immediate issues are abstracted from their context and causes. We condemn Hitler for seeking refuge in policies which we openly boast have brought us (if only momentary) salvation, and Stalin for trying to protect a social system, which Western capitalism opposes by the very means which that capitalism has used to attain its power."

"The events of 1939 cannot be separated from the sequence of events during the last quarter of a century. It is now clear that the social system we call capitalism is in collapse, and that the process of collapse started in 1914."

## Signs of Collapse

"**THAT** process has manifested itself in two main directions. The failure to distribute abundance, which is the failure—and crime—of capitalism, has led, through the piling up of surplus commodities which the 2,000,000,000 of the world's peasants and workers who produced them were prevented from enjoying, to world economic collapse, which has given rise to two developments:

"1. The formation by all the big Powers of vast enclosed territorial areas intended to operate largely as self-contained units, the newly-formed units tending to operate on totalitarian lines;

"2. The sharpening of the conflict between capitalist-imperialism on the one hand, and communism, supported later by totalitarian collectivism—as in the Russo-German Pact, on the other."

"Thus it would probably be a mistake to regard the Soviet invasion of Finland as an act of imperialist aggression as ordinarily understood. A truer explanation is that it is a move in the struggle for power between capitalist-imperialism and collectivism, being firstly an extension of the Soviet system, and secondly a means of strengthening the strategic position of the collectivist Powers."

The foregoing is a brutally realistic description of power politics as now operating. The problem for pacifists is what to do about it. When the world is gliding to catastrophe pacifists cannot be dumb and idle. Yet what ought they to do?

## Pacifists' Task

"**CLEARLY** they cannot participate in this power-politics conflict. Neither, in view of the facts, can they honestly ask for an armistice on the basis of the situation in August, 1939, or May, 1938."

"It is necessary to remember two things: 1. That the old order has broken down; 2. That Sovietism and Nazism, despite their horrible brutalities and crimes, which have shocked the civilized world, have believed that the path of persecution and terror was the only way in which they could secure themselves against the power of world capitalism and erect a civilization on new lines, and withal have revealed energy and constructive genius on a scale unmatched, which indeed stagger the imagination."

"In this most difficult and complex situation I suggest that the job of pacifists is three-fold: **First**, to reveal to the public the real nature of the struggle that is going on in the international field and the certainty of general conflagration and economic collapse if war and power-politics are allowed to continue; **Second**, to demonstrate by every possible means the paramount need of trusting abundance and of substituting the motive of service and the practice of co-operation for power-politics and power-economics in the conduct of social and industrial affairs; and **Third**, to recognize the forces that have driven Germany and Russia to adopt their present social systems, and to offer them co-operation whence,

freed from the burden of war and armaments, they may, in due course, through the distribution of plenty, work their way back to freedom while we, having saved ourselves just in time, may work our way through to industrial brotherhood without the painful necessity of having to pass through the hell of totalitarianism."

## What Stretford Shows

**TWO** things are significant in the result of the Stretford by-election.

The first is the size of the anti-war vote; the second, the lowness of the poll (36 per cent.).

The Government candidate received 23,408 votes—a slump from 34,874 at the last election; Mr. Bob Edwards, of the Independent Labour Party, polled 4,424 votes, and Mr. Eric Gower, the Communist nominee, got 1,519. Both the latter were standing on a "Stop-the-War" platform.

The "Stop-the-War" candidate at Clackmannan in October polled 1,060 against the 15,645 received by his Labour opponent. At Clackmannan the total poll was even lower—32 per cent.

There are important differences, however. Thus the ILP candidate at Stretford, while urging that the war should be stopped "by a socialist peace," made no mention of the important question of disarmament, in his election address.

The splitting of the anti-war vote was unfortunate; it has led to recriminations and counter-recriminations between the ILP and the Communists.

(It may be relevant to recall here that Andrew Stewart's "Stop-the-War" campaign at Clackmannan was boycotted by the *Daily Worker*.)

The ILP vote, incidentally, was all the more creditable in view of the candidate's lack of resources.

In this connexion Ethel Mannin writes: "The Communist Party are estimated to have spent about £2,000 on their campaign (the figure came from their committee rooms) whereas the ILP spent only £200 for the good reason that we could not afford any more. The CP had the whole town plastered with enormous bills; our own few and small bills were nowhere—completely lost in the CP splash. We worked against the lack-of-money handicap in all directions. (It was there helping, and know). We are proud of our result, and encouraged by it."

But, apart from these considerations, the fact remains that Stretford has justified those who urge that by-elections should be contested whenever possible; it has shattered the delusion that the people are united behind the Government in this war. The low poll, however, will cause concern to all who do not wish the machinery of such democracy as we have to grow rusty.

## Mediation Hopes

**TWO** significant suggestions for a new effort to open negotiations with Germany for peace through neutral mediation have this week encouraged the appeal which continues to be made in this country to the British Government to give its support to such efforts.

In the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet*, a former Prime Minister of that country, Hr. Mournkel, has suggested that the neutral States members of the League of Nations should propose to Italy and the United States (the two most important countries from the point of view of mediation) that they should take the initiative in appealing to the belligerents to meet for peace talks. He suggests that the basis should be "mutual understanding and honest political-economic co-operation."

In the House of Lords on Wednesday Lord Darnley opened a debate on his motion "to ask his Majesty's Government whether, in view of the fact that the proposed offer of mediation by their Majesties the King of Belgium and the Queen of Holland still remains open, they will now state their willingness to take advantage of this offer with a view to securing a freely negotiated peace."

Meanwhile a new feeler for peace from the German side was detected by *The Times*, on Tuesday, in a leading article in

Sunday's *Frankfurter Zeitung*. While *The Times* referred to it slightly as a new peace "offensive," it pointed out that the spirit in which the article was written made it stand out "from the ruck of German wartime leading articles like a civilian among a crowd of soldiers."

Is it too much to hope that this country will "retaliate" with an approach in the Christmas spirit of good will and generosity?

## A Vindictive "Peace"

**THE** *Nineteenth Century and After* is commonly regarded as the leading English monthly review. It is deeply regrettable, therefore, to note its editor's attitude to the war.

In an article on "War Aims" in the December issue he says:

"Mr. Attlee demands the 'complete abandonment of aggression and the use of armed force as an instrument of policy.' The peace will not, and cannot, satisfy the vanquished (else they would not be fighting to avert it). They will wait (as we should wait, if we were to lose the war) and resort to 'aggression' (just as we should) at the first opportunity of reversing war's verdict."

"To prevent this, or, in the words of Sir Walter Layton, so that 'the present situation may not recur,' it is essential that 'the use of armed force as an instrument of policy' be not abandoned, but maintained. It is, or ought to be, the essential war aim of the Allied Powers that they retain this 'use' for themselves and permanently deny it to the defeated foe (for if they do not he will transform his defeat into victory)."

What kind of prospect is this? A great part of Europe permanently held in bondage by another part, armed to the teeth. It would, of course, mean perpetual conscription in Britain as well as France.

Moreover, is Germany the only aggressor? What of Italy in Ethiopia, Japan in China, and Russia in Finland? Indeed, have Britain and France never been aggressive?

The policy of the editor of the *Nineteenth Century* would mean permanent militarism interspersed with frequent devastating wars. In any case, does he imagine that a system of domination such as he envisages could be "permanent"? All history is against him, if he does.

## J. Middleton Murry on the ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN

"**NOT** only are Russian women doing baby-bombing and air fighting with the Red Armies in Finland. . . ." So run the first lines of a big-print feature in the *Sunday Express*.

I do not remember that that newspaper was much concerned about baby-bombing during the Spanish Civil War. So I am forced to wonder what is behind this evident effort to whip up indignation against Russia.

I observe in the *Catholic Herald* an appeal that we should join the anti-Comintern pact. Perhaps that has something to do with it. An anti-baby-bombing pact would seem more appropriate. But very few members of the anti-Comintern pact would qualify for that.

Lest I should be misunderstood, I had better make it clear that I am as utterly opposed to what the Russians are doing in Finland, as I was to what General Franco did at Guernica or Barcelona.

## The Real Abomination

The whole of modern warfare seems to me abominable. The idea of trying to draw moral distinctions against a background of common barbarity is not only repulsive in itself; but when, as I suspect, the real purpose is to work up indignation for some interested and unworthy end against the one Socialist State in the world, it becomes intolerable.

There seems to me to be no sense in the anti-Comintern pact at all except it be considered as a pact to maintain the most gruesome kind of capitalist exploitation.

**IN** *Harijan* for October 14, Mahatma Gandhi, while expressing his fears lest a self-governing India might "enter into the race for armaments and so court suicide," reaffirms his own pacifist convictions, declaring that "it is better for India to discard violence altogether, even for defending her own borders."

"I have the unquenchable faith," he adds "that, of all the countries in the world, India is the one country which can learn the art of non-violence (*Satyagraha*), and that, if the test were applied even now, there would be found perhaps thousands of men and women who would be willing to die without harbouring malice against their persecutors. . . ."

"Man may and should shed his own blood for establishing what he considers to be his 'right.' He may not shed the blood of his opponent who disputes his 'right.' No different capacity is required from what has been already evinced, if India has to contend against an invader. Only it will have to be upon a vaster scale."

"I hope to the last breath that India will make non-violence her creed, preserve man's dignity, and prevent him from reverting to the type from which he is supposed to have raised himself."

## True Voice of the Church

**SO** often do pacifists find cause to criticize "the Church" (meaning, generally, certain of its leaders) that it is good to read in *The Times* a Bishop's plea more in keeping with the function of the Church than are some of the utterances we get from his colleagues.

In a letter published on November 29, after referring to the Prime Minister's statement of peace aims, the Bishop of Chichester wrote:

"It is not possible to defeat a mentality except by treating what is a moral and spiritual malady through moral and spiritual means. . . ."

"Surely, Sir, in these tremendous days we are relying far too exclusively on political and military measures. We behave once again as we behaved after the last War, as though, after defeating the enemy in the field, we could produce a new Europe simply by organization and machinery and new Constitutions. But if there is one thing more than another which the experience of the last 20 years teaches us, it is this: Organization by itself is not enough. The supreme need of men and nations today is a vital religious faith. For the reformation of the social and international order many things are required. We need intelligence and morality. But above all else we need religious faith."

Whether Christian morality has any meaning at all in the international relations of the world in which we live—and I see no reason at all for believing that it has—it is fantastic to suppose that Japan is a pillar of it. And if I had to choose, on purely Christian grounds, between a world dominated by the Powers which have concluded the anti-Comintern pact, and a world dominated by Russia, I would choose the latter. It would be, to my mind, definitely the lesser evil.

## Hypocrisy and Honesty

Leaving quite aside the question whether Russia represents some genuine social advance over the rest of the world, it is far better that the world should be cleared of the hypocrisy of a Christianity that is used only as a cover for the ruthless operations of capitalism. Russian atheism is better than that. It is at least honest. In such an atmosphere, I believe, the true spiritual Christianity—upon which the future of humanity depends—would begin to gather its strength again. I still believe, as Dostoevsky believed, that Russia is to be the home of the next great spiritual, and therefore Christian, renaissance of the world.

I do not know whether it is true that the Russian women have done baby-bombing; but if they have, it seems to me that they are probably nearer to salvation than in countries where the baby-bombing is left to the men, with the women to admire and applaud.



# BRITAIN CAN MAKE PEACE NOW

THE Prime Minister has made things quite clear—first we are to win the war, then, he says, we can make a peace based on justice, equality, and freedom for all peoples; a peace that is "not another Versailles" upon which a new world order may be founded. A just peace can result only through free negotiation and conference. That can happen now. It could not happen after a long period of war.

Our Government has evaded the issue of peace aims. It has rendered Queen Wilhelmina's offer of negotiation useless by its answer. It makes no attempt to present a peace offer to Germany now.

By such an offer now, an honourable and just peace could be made now. "Hitlerism" is largely a result of the Treaty of Versailles and our subsequent policy towards Germany. "Hitlerism" can only be destroyed by removing its cause, by making a peace that is, genuinely, "not another Versailles."

Because the ordinary German folk are decent human beings, hating war and aggression just as much as we do, such an offer would be accepted. Herr Hitler would in all probability accept it himself, but if he didn't then it would give the German people their only chance to rise against him and say, "Thank God, we do not need this regime and this policy and longer, for here are the British people willing to give us justice for its own sake, because they are human beings like ourselves."

Some people will argue that such an offer would be kept from the German people. But with six million pounds per day to spend on the war we could take it to them if we really meant it. For instance, at least 10,000 pacifists could be found immediately who would be willing in such a case to be dropped by parachute or walk across the Siegfried Line with the news.

Others will object on the ground that "appeasement" has already failed. This is not "appeasement," but justice. Never before has any Government made an offer in such a spirit.

Below, you will find a specimen peace offer, to illustrate the type of thing that is needed. It is drawn up by a few local pacifists and does not pretend to be perfect or fully comprehensive. The details and form are of minor importance. It is the spirit that lies behind it that counts.

## PEACE OFFER BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

### Preamble

The British Government, realizing that a real and just peace can only be achieved through negotiation, and realizing that the causes of the present conflict can never be attributed wholly to one nation or one source but are diverse in form and origin, makes the following suggestions in the form of a Peace Offer to the German Government.

The purpose of these suggestions is to end the present hostilities and if carried out would, in the opinion of the British Government, serve as a starting point for further international co-operation and re-adjustment upon which a new world order could be founded.

### France

A copy of this Peace Offer is being submitted simultaneously to the French Government, in the hope that they may make a similar offer.

### Peace Conference

A conference between the belligerent States to be called immediately in a neutral country, with

## says DAVID SPRECKLEY

Though *Peace News* (like the Peace Pledge Union) is not committed to the views or suggestions expressed in this article, we share the writer's emphasis on the importance of the essential idea—that if a suitable offer were to be made by this country to Germany, peace could be made by negotiation—as opposed to the specific details of such an offer here thrown up by "a few local pacifists." Consideration of such details, especially if divorced from the idea itself, may even be "mischievous," to use Mr. Chamberlain's word.

a board of representatives from the Scandinavian Countries, Low Countries, the USA, USSR, and Italy to act as arbitrators.

### Disarmament

The British armed forces will suspend all hostilities from the time of submission of this offer. Should a conference be agreed upon, the British Government will order demobilization to start concurrently with its first session. The British Government hereby expresses its willingness then to surrender all armaments to a League of Nations neutral committee which would supervise their disposal. The German Government to do likewise.

### National Sovereignty and the League of Nations

The British Government recognizes that there cannot be peace or justice between nations until the surrender of national sovereignty by individual nations is absolute, embodying with it a recognition of a law and authority that is super-national.

The British Government hereby declares that in future it will submit to the decisions of neutral arbitration boards set up by the League of Nations, or any international organization that may supersede it, in any and every instance where British foreign policy is concerned, without exception. The German Government to do likewise.

### Imperialism

The British Government recognizes that the policy of imperialism—i.e., the assertion of racial superiority, the suppression of political and economic freedom of other peoples, the exploitation of the resources of other countries for the benefit of the imperialist country—is unjust, unnecessary, and detrimental to human well-being and progress.

The British Government hereby renounces its imperial interests in the following manner:

(a) **Dominions:** Concurrently with the proposed Peace Conference the British Government will call a conference of Dominion representatives with the object of renouncing the Statute of Westminster (1931), the Ottawa Agreements, and other such imperial arrangements, so that each Dominion shall become an independent nation co-operating as a full member state of the League of Nations, and so that there shall be no preferential treatment of British goods, markets, or immigrants by the ex-Dominions.

(b) **India:** A neutral League of Nations Committee to supervise and control the granting of complete self-government to India in the shortest possible time.

(c) **Gibraltar, Malta, Hong-kong, Aden:** To be demilitarized immediately.

(d) **Palestine:** The British promises neither to the Arabs nor the Jews being capable of fulfillment, a League of Nations neutral commission to control Palestine until a settlement can be reached and self-government achieved.

(e) **All Colonies and Mandates:** To be surrendered to the League of Nations to supervise their immediate transition to self-government where possible, to arrange for international administration where that is not yet possible, and

to ensure that there is no preferential treatment of any nation in any ex-colony either in markets, raw materials, credit facilities, administrative posts, or immigration.

Germany, in keeping with Herr Hitler's frequent pronouncements that he did not desire to incorporate anyone into the Reich other than Germans, to surrender those parts of Poland and Czechoslovakia not in the Reich before September 3, 1939 Danzig to remain within the Reich.

A plebiscite to be held in all districts on both sides of the then existing German-Polish and German-Czech frontier, where there might be any doubt as to the wishes of the inhabitants, the district known as the Polish Corridor to be included in this.

The plebiscite to be administered by a League of Nations neutral commission, the results made public, and the frontiers then adjusted by the commission accordingly.

A similar plebiscite to be held in Austria under neutral supervision.

### Economics

An economic sub-committee of the Peace Conference to be appointed to arrange, by means of international equalization funds, loans, and any other necessary measures, for the stabilizing of the value of the Reichsmark and the £ Sterling, (and the Franc if France should concur) so that there should be an equal purchasing power, credit value, and facilities throughout the world in both (or all) currencies.

### The Treaty of Versailles

The British Government hereby wishes to declare that, in its opinion, the Treaty of Versailles was an unjust treaty, an able demonstration that justice cannot evolve from war. It recognizes that the Treaty must be held largely responsible for the present conflict and pledges itself at this conference to do all in its power to rectify the mistakes made under its terms.

### The Future

As a first step in the work that lies ahead, the British Government offers £2,000 million—being approximately the cost to Great Britain of one year of war—as a fund to be used jointly by the German and British Governments in the cause of friendship between the German and British peoples.

Pacifists are often accused of wanting "peace at any price." Our price is clearly stated—the sacrifice of imperialist rights, vested trade interests, and national sovereignty. And what is Mr. Chamberlain's price? Ten million lives, perhaps, with the same number maimed, blinded, shot to pieces; more millions of money than we can even imagine; homes, careers, ambitions, businesses destroyed; years of hell on earth for everyone.

People may argue that the League of Nations is dead. But it failed only because its members would not renounce their national sovereignty; it died through lack of politics such as those suggested above; it will live again if animated by the right spirit.

## Future Sessions of C.O.s' Tribunals

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors:

### NORTH WALES

In County Buildings, Wrexham, December 20 and 21. (At 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. each day.)

### SOUTH WALES

In City Hall, Cardiff, today; Guildhall, Swansea, December 27 and 28; Shire Hall, Carmarthen, December 28 and 29. (At 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. each day, except on December 28, when sittings will be at 10 a.m. at Swansea and 2 p.m. at Carmarthen.)

### LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE

In the Civil Court, St. George's Hall, Liverpool, today (commencing at 9.30 a.m.).

### NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

In County Court, Westgate Road, today at 10.30 a.m.

### SOUTH-WESTERN

Next sittings, first week in January.

### LONDON

In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Thursdays (1.30 to 5 p.m.) and Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.).

### SOUTH-EASTERN

In Southwark County Court, Swan Street, off Trinity Street, Borough (stations, Borough or Elephant and Castle) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.).

This tribunal also deals with London cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.

The above dates are subject to alteration at the discretion of the chairman of the tribunal, though changes are rare.

## New H.Q. for F.C.O.

The head office of the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors is now permanently established at 1 Paper Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4.

(The Fellowship was formed to include men of all political faiths and religious denominations whose philosophy binds them together on the common ground of conscientious objection to war.)

## Christmas Presents:

## Some Suggestions

HERE are some ideas for Christmas presents. A choice of suitable book-gifts appears on p. 9.

### Christmas Cards

Those published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1) at 3d. each, post paid are recommended by the Peace Pledge Union, which has decided not to issue any of its own this year. The Union had hoped to produce instead some headed greetings notepaper, but this has not proved possible after all. A card produced by a PPU member and obtainable from headquarters is reproduced and described on this page.

A choice of ten designs for cards, on which they would print, if desired, individual senders' names and addresses, is available from the Cotswold Bruderhof Press, Ashton Keynes, Swindon, Wilts. Religious in character, each contains a woodcut on the front and a verse inside.

The Welsh Council of the Peace Pledge Union are again getting out Christmas cards in Welsh. Orders, accompanied by remittance, should be sent at once to Mrs. A. E. Humphreys, 9 Gloucester Drive, Wrexham, N. Wales. They contain a fine design by the same artist as last year, Mr. Bird, of the Art Dept., University College, Aberystwyth, and a verse from Rupert

(Continued on page 4)

## A Suggestion for Christmas GIVE P.P.U. TIES TO YOUR PACIFIST FRIENDS

Colours: Green and Gold  
2/- from the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. (Postage 1½d.)



"Unto us a Son is born,  
and His name shall be called the  
Prince of Peace."

Drawn by R. L. Broadbent.

## YOU CAN GET THIS CHRISTMAS CARD

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## Christmas Presents: Some Suggestions

(continued from page 3)

Brooke's poem, Hedd Wyn. Price 2d. each plus postage.

### Other Ideas

Christmas is in a special sense the children's festival, and always brings forth a large crop of children's story books. A booklet about children that may be an acceptable present for some grown-ups is *Children in Community*. Published by The Plough Publishing House, Ashton Keynes, Swindon, Wilts, at 1s. 6d., it describes the life of the children of the Bruderhof Communities.

Among other suggestions for presents, there is the PPU tie. This costs only 2s.

### And What About "Peace News"?

Finally, may we suggest, in view of the pleasure which so many of our readers say they have obtained from this paper, that a subscription to *Peace News* would make an excellent gift. A present of a quarter's subscription (2s. 9d.) has, in the past, often led the recipient to continue to subscribe. But others may like to give their friends subscriptions for 6 months (5s. 6d.) or a year (10s. 6d.).

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# Canadian Pacifist Clergy Face Prosecution : Are Disowned by their Church

**SEVENTY-FIVE** ministers of the United Church of Canada who, as reported in *Peace News* last week, have expressed disapproval of the war, may find themselves prosecuted under the Defence of Canada Act.

Their manifesto has also been condemned by the sub-executive of the Church at a special meeting called to consider it.

The Attorney-General of Ontario has ordered an investigation into the manifesto, which declared "this or any other war" to be "incompatible with the Christian spirit and aims."

He declared that if it was found to come under Section 39 of the Defence of Canada Act he would "seriously consider prosecution." This section of the act makes it an offence to issue statements "intended or likely to" cause disaffection to the King or to prejudice recruiting.

The Attorney-General said: "'Pusillanimous' is the best word that I can think of to describe their action. They certainly are not patriotic from what I have read. I don't think it is very helpful to recruiting."

### Official Church Statement

Three days after the Attorney-General's action the sub-executive of the Church of Canada issued a statement of its "regret at the action of the signatories in making their manifesto public."

It declared that the signatories, though sincere, had "gone far beyond the limits of what is wise and proper in time of war," and added:

"The sub-executive would take this opportunity of proclaiming afresh the entire and unflinching loyalty of the United Church of Canada to His Majesty the King, and its steady purpose to support him in the present dire struggle in every way which is open and proper to the Church."

It said that since the outbreak of war presbyteries from coast to coast had met and considered the Church stand in the struggle; and that "not a single presbytery

has expressed itself in the terms or the spirit of this manifesto. On the contrary resolutions expressing loyalty have been adopted."

### Call for Allies' Aims

A correspondent reports that there is also a growing feeling that the Allies must state their war aims in definite terms, and that unless these aims are without trace of malice or revenge it is difficult to see how even that part of the Church which is not completely pacifist can support the war.

Sixty United Church ministers in Hamilton, Ontario (none of them being among the 75 referred to above), have sent forward a resolution calling for a very definite statement of the Allies' aims.

## Peace Society for Local Officials

Metropolitan members of the National Association of Local Government Officers met recently to discuss the suggested formation of a Peace Society of Local Government Officers.

The suggestion was subsequently approved and Mr. Phillips of Walthamstow was elected chairman. It was agreed that Mr. W. G. Ford should be secretary and Mr. H. R. Blaxland, of 27 Windmill Road, Gillingham, Kent, was elected treasurer.

It was decided that the chief objects of the new society should be (a) the encouragement of individual and collective peace activity amongst members of the Local Government Service; and (b) the protection of members of the Local Government Service opposed to Military Service.

## LETTERS TO GERMANY AND POLAND

### Red Cross as Intermediary

THE International Red Cross Committee in Geneva announces that, by agreement with the belligerent States, it is authorized to receive and forward short messages of strictly personal character (25 words including address), typewritten or written very legibly, coming from civilians (interned or otherwise) resident in a belligerent State and addressed to other civilians in an "enemy country."

Similar messages can now be received and forwarded under the same conditions by the International Red Cross Committee to certain parts of occupied Poland. The International Red Cross Committee is examining with the occupation authorities and the national Red Cross organizations the possibility of extending this service to the whole of Poland. It accepts meanwhile any messages destined for that country.

These messages must be addressed to the International Red Cross Committee, Palais du Conseil General, Geneva, and should be written preferably in German, English or French.

No payment is required for the service, but where an International Postal Coupon can be enclosed to defray forwarding costs it will be much appreciated. The name of the sender as well as that of the recipient should be clearly indicated.

### Socialist View of Federal Union

A Socialist criticism of Federal Union, by Dr. C. A. Smith, chairman of the Independent Labour Party, appears in the December issue of *Left*. A specimen copy may be obtained for 3d. post free from *Left*, 35 St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

### In 426 Libraries

*Peace News* is now in 426 public libraries—mostly in Great Britain.

We have been notified of its entry into the libraries at Camborne and Redruth, in Cornwall, and at Eccles and Winton, since the last list we published.



## FINLAND'S UNCONDITIONAL FRIENDS OF PEACE

Aarne Selinheimo, Founder of the Finnish War Resisters' Movement and Representative of The War Resisters' International in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, died 29th October, 1939. Aarne Selinheimo's last message was to George Lansbury, President.

"The W.R.I. has been to me my whole life, my happiness, my greatest joy. Perhaps I cannot see more, any Christmas. God's will be done. He is guiding us to a wonderful destination. If this is my last letter, you may know my thoughts are for the W.R.I. God give force and success to all friends of the W.R.I. in the whole world every day, and bless your great work in all countries."

**A GREAT WORLD-WIDE FAMILY** stretches out its arms to help its children in all the Baltic States; to its silent ones in Warsaw; to its little ones in the Homes in Prague and down in the Pyrenees; to all those scattered from Germany and Austria,

**REFUGEES FROM WAR AND OPPRESSION.** Will you help this Christmas? Address your gifts to "G.L., The Grandfather of the Family," or to Ruth Fry, Hon. Treasurer, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.



# Political Objectors' Claims Are Rejected by Appeals Tribunal

## LABOUR MINISTER'S PLEDGE WAS NOT ADMITTED AS EVIDENCE

**A** REQUEST from the Ministry of Labour that the Appellate Tribunal for England and Wales should rule that political objectors, unless they object to all war, do not come within the scope of the Military Training and National Service (Armed Forces Act) was the chief feature of the first sittings of the Tribunal, held in Westminster on Wednesday and Thursday of last week.

The Tribunal declined to give a ruling for permanent guidance, but it decided against the two applicants whom the Ministry brought before the tribunal as test cases.

It is expected that the Tribunal will meet on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday of next week at 1 Abbey Gardens, Great College Street, Westminster, at 10.30 a.m. each day.

Chairman of the tribunal is Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, Oxford, and the other members are Sir Leonard Costello (a former judge of the High Court of Calcutta) and Sir Arthur Pugh, the trade union leader.

If the Appellate Tribunal upholds an applicant's appeal, it makes an order that he shall be either registered as a conscientious objector, with or without conditions, or registered for non-combatant duties in the armed forces. If an applicant's appeal fails, the decision of the local tribunal stands.

In two of the 21 cases heard last week the appellant was the Minister of Labour, whose representative asked that they be treated as test cases.

These were men whose objections to service were described as "political." They were George Plume, who had been given exemption by the London Tribunal on condition he continued to follow his occupation as an accountant, and C. A. Plumb, whom the South-Western Tribunal had given absolute exemption.

Among the statements read by the chairman, in opening the case, was a letter from Plume in which he defined conscience as "a mental sense of right and wrong."

### Ministry's Case

The representative of the Minister of Labour was then called upon to state his case, in the course of which he said:

"This is a case of considerable importance, because local tribunals are desirous of obtaining guidance to enable them to deal with objections of what I will describe as a political character. Can such objections be conscientious objections within the meaning of the Act?"

"There is in the Act nothing that limits objections to those based on religious grounds. If that were so, an agnostic would be unable to get exemption."

The main distinction was not, in his submission, so much the ground on which the objection was based as the matter to which the applicant objected.

The type of objector described as religious, ethical, or humanitarian objected to performing combatant duties, or to military service, or to being registered absolutely. The political objector objected not to those things in themselves but objected to them in particular circumstances—as, for instance, in relation to this particular war.

That might be a sincere objection, but it was not, in his submission, a conscientious objection within the meaning of the Act.

### "Intention of the Statute"

Addressing the applicant, the chairman said:

"The legal point is that under the terms of this Act protection is given to the pacifist, the honest, conscientious pacifist. That is to say, the man who objects to war as a thing evil in itself."

"That was the intention of the Statute, not to protect every form of conscientious objection."

Of these he proceeded to give such possible examples as the "conscientious objection" of a fascist to fighting for parliamentary government, of the Scottish or Welsh nationalist to fighting for England, and of "the socialist who may have an objection to fighting for a capitalist State."

The case for political objectors was put to the Appellate Tribunal by Fenner Brockway.

Brockway defined conscience as a combination of intellectual and moral conviction held so strongly that it overrode all external authority. A conviction of such

quality could be based on different grounds.

"It is a question of to what conception an individual gives supreme loyalty. Many people give their first loyalty to the nation. If they were called upon to fight against their nation, they would refuse. Such refusal would be conscientious in respect of that particular demand for war service, even if they were not opposed to all war service in principle."

**The Chairman of the Tribunal (Mr. H. A. L. Fisher):** The issue here is not the quality of the conscience, but its character. Does a non-pacifist political objection come under this Act?

**Brockway:** I am seeking to argue that other grounds of objection than complete pacifism can be held conscientiously.

"The pacifist's supreme loyalty is to his conception of God or of the universe. The Socialist's supreme loyalty is to the workers of all lands, with whom he feels a unity equivalent to the unity which a patriot feels to his nation."

"To a political objector it would be morally wrong to kill his fellow-workers in the interests of the possessing class. It is a matter of conscience to him no less than to the pacifist."

"There is nothing in the Act to distinguish between one ground of conscience and another. The term 'conscientious objection' is nowhere defined. But it has been made abundantly clear in the House of Commons that it was the intention of those who drafted the Act to cover all classes of conscientious objectors."

**Sir Leonard Costello:** This Tribunal is not concerned with what some politicians have said. It is concerned only with the Act itself.

**Brockway:** The "some" politicians I had intended to quote were the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour. Surely I am entitled to show that the Minister of Labour has said in Parliament the exact opposite to what his representative has said here?

### Ernest Brown's Pledge Ignored

**The Chairman:** This Tribunal must judge by the terms of the Act and not by statements in Parliament.

**Brockway:** Then I will content myself, sir, by handing you a copy of Hansard with the passage marked:

[The Chairman, however, declined to take the copy of Hansard.]

[Mr. Ernest Brown said in the House of Commons on November 9, in reply to Mr. Sorensen: "Conscientious objection is not defined in the Act, and local tribunals have to use their own judgment in deciding whether an application, on whatever ground it may be based, is or is not of a conscientious nature."

When Mr. Campbell Stephen asked, "Can the Minister say that he agrees that this House, in giving the right to conscientious objectors, meant to do so on all these grounds?" Mr. Brown replied: "That is still the idea."

**Brockway:** I turn to the Act itself. In no single clause is there the slightest indication that conscientious objection is only permissible if it relate to war under all circumstances.

"The representative of the Ministry of Labour made his submission, but he did not provide any evidence to support it. He did not point to a clause or a phrase. The Act speaks only of 'conscientious objection' without any qualifying words whatsoever."

"Indeed, the implication of the actual words of the Act is that conscientious objection can be based on something other than objection to military training in principle."

"I call attention to Section 2 of Clause 3, which defines the grounds on which registration as a conscientious objector can be made."

[Some amusement was caused when it was seen that the members of the Tribunal did not have copies of the Act before them. This was renewed when Brockway offered the chairman his copy. When the Clerk to the Tribunal had provided copies, the proceedings continued.]

**Brockway:** I ask you to note that this section specifies the grounds on which conscientious

objection can be made. The second ground is objection "to undergoing military training." It might be argued that that involves objection to military training as such under all circumstances.

But look at the first ground. It is objection "to being registered in the military training register." That does not involve of necessity objection to all military training. It refers to objection to registration under this Act. It does not refer to all war. It refers to this war.

"This Act has been deliberately drafted on broader lines than the Acts of 1916 so that the persecution of conscientious objectors which then occurred should be avoided. The Prime Minister has said that the intention of the Act is to grant exemption to all except 'shirkers.' No one can say that political objectors as a class are 'shirkers.' They are nearly always men of devoted social service."

### Experience Last Time

"During the last war I was a political objector. I was taken into the army, court martialled and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. I was taken back into the army and sentenced to a year. I was taken back into the army and sentenced to two years. Is it desired that this should recur in this war? It will recur in thousands of cases if this Tribunal decides that political objectors cannot be regarded as conscientious objectors under this Act."

When Sir Arthur Pugh asked Fenner Brockway whether Plume objected to war as such, Mr. Brockway said he would not say so, as he understood Plume would be prepared to defend the country if it were a Socialist State.

Plume himself, however, said, "Obviously I am opposed to all war. As a Socialist, I am opposed to all war. I can show membership of the Peace Pledge Union for three years, if I so desired, but my allegiance is to Socialism."

The other "political" case was then taken, and the representative of the Minister of Labour indicated that his case was the same, but said:

"I want to make it quite clear that where there are two elements present (a) a man might object on political grounds to this war because he objects to the Government which is waging it, and (b) he is a conscientious objector to all wars, we should never contest a decision of a tribunal that he should be given either conditional or unconditional exemption."

"But where the element is lacking that he has any conscientious objection to all wars as such, then I must, as I say, ask you to make an order that he should be registered in the military service register."

When Plumb's statements were read it was seen that several phrases were exactly the same as those in Plume's. After much cross-examining on this point, Fenner Brockway intervened to say that Plume had made a statement in the *New Leader*, which Plumb had probably seen. But he pointed out that it was perfectly natural for an uneducated person, seeing his own thoughts expressed by someone else, to take the same words to express them himself.

Plumb also said in his statement, however, "I have no objection to slaughter as such."

Both cases were adjourned until the following day when the chairman said that, "without making any final pronouncement upon the question of principle," they thought the Minister's appeals should succeed, and accordingly they directed that both men should, without qualification, be removed from the register of conscientious objectors.

In only one case did the appeal of a CO succeed. His name was E. W. Lawrence, and he was also the only applicant to appeal against a conditional exemption.

His appeal was allowed, however, only on the condition that he continued to do his evangelistic work. And the tribunal added the "strong recommendation" that he should voluntarily do some A.R.P. work.

For the rest, the cases ranged from clearly

## "BE BOLD"

### Advice to C.O.s

**CONSCIENTIOUS** objectors should go before tribunals not to get exemption but to testify to their convictions.

That was the advice given by J. Allen Skinner chairman of a test tribunal held on Saturday by the Wood Green group of the Peace Pledge Union in conjunction with the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.

They should refer each question to what they actually believed, he added, and not to the previous question or what they might expect to be the next question.

Robert Abbott, another member of the tribunal, said that COs should go forward in a bold spirit, though not defiantly. "Don't be on the defensive," he urged.

The need for keeping written statements and verbal answers as short as possible was stressed by Eric Sly.

weak ones to obviously strong cases, but all with the same negative result.

There was hardly any questioning of the applicants, and what there was, was sometimes irrelevant. A fairly frequent question, however, was, "Have you made any sacrifices for your conscience?" The chairman actually added two or three times, by way of example, "Are you a teetotaler?"

But even when one applicant was able to give the satisfactory answer that he had refused a job on war work when he was unemployed, and another had given up his job the day after the local tribunal had told him it was aiding the war, it was of no avail. After turning for only a moment to each of his colleagues, the chairman said, "We have considered your case very carefully . . ." and dismissed it.

The latter case and the one before had been disposed of in exactly 12 minutes between them!

## Pacifist Service Bureau is Busy

The General Secretaryship of the Pacifist Service Bureau has been taken over by Mrs. Richardson in place of R. H. Ward, who has now left the Peace Pledge Union headquarters staff.

The functions of the Bureau fall under four main headings:

1. To help COs and others who have lost their jobs by finding them constructive employment.
2. To consider starting new schemes for training and work.
3. To put members into touch with already existing opportunities for service to the community in their own districts.
4. To encourage new Social Service efforts.

The unofficial employment bureau is kept very busy, and it has been able, with the co-operation and help of members, to place quite a number of COs in jobs.

Temporary land work is still available, but it is of a very hard and heavy nature, and physical fitness is essential.

Groups and individuals can help enormously if they will make inquiries in their own neighbourhood for firms and individuals who would be willing to employ COs.

The Bureau is in a position to give advice and help to groups who want to start First Aid training classes. There is at the moment no possibility of the Bureau running an Ambulance Unit without compromising with the military machine, but they hope to be able to take any chance which may be open of sending relief workers, or even a unit, if funds are available, into Europe for reconstruction or help.

All inquiries should be sent to the Bureau at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## 14,483 C.O.s Have Now Registered

9,526 men had provisionally registered as conscientious objectors—2 percent of the men called up. This percentage has not risen since the war; it was precisely the same before the war.

2,143 applications had been heard, and out of these the tribunals had ordered 299 to be unconditionally registered as COs, 935 to be registered on condition that they perform specified work, and 509 to be registered for non-combatant service.

166 men have appealed against the tribunals' decisions.

The discrepancy between the total given by the Minister and the figures for June 3 and October 21 given above, is explained by the addition of late registrations—by post, for example.

## CONFERENCE OF C.O.s

Following the success of a similar venture last month a conference of Conscientious Objectors will be held in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1, on Saturday, December 30. It is hoped that as many of the present-day COs as possible will attend, and that they will take this opportunity of putting their own cases and raising any questions that occur to them.

**OUT** of the 238,585 men over 20 and under 23 who registered under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act on Saturday, 4,957 were provisionally registered as conscientious objectors.

The total number of COs registered is now 14,483. During the Great War there were about 16,000 conscientious objectors.

Following are the figures for previous registration days:

**June 3:** 3,893 COs out of total of 224,172.

**October 21:** 4,556 out of 215,231.

The average of about two percent of COs has thus been maintained.

Saturday's registration figures for England, Scotland, and Wales, were:

**England:** 3,999 out of 200,208.

**Scotland:** 485 out of 25,188.

**Wales:** 473 out of 13,189.

In an interview given to the *Manchester Guardian* recently, the Minister of Labour said that up to October 31



# SYBIL MORRISON says WOMEN CAN MAKE WAR IMPOSSIBLE

**I**N a recent broadcast Sir Samuel Hoare told the women of this country that there would soon be plenty of war work for them and that the defence of their country is as much the business of women as it is of men.

In other words the war of 1939 cannot be carried on without the assistance of the women any more than the war of 1914 could have been maintained without the help of women.

From 1914 to 1918 women worked in all capacities in order to release men for the fighting line; they became ambulance drivers, lorry drivers, land workers, motor mechanics, bus conductors, munition workers, clerks. The only position they were not called upon to fill was the position of a combatant. They were not asked to kill and they have not been asked to kill this time.

Women may work to support a war but they may not kill. Why? What inherent instinct in us draws back shocked from the idea of women as soldiers, sailors or air fighters? If defence of their country is part of a woman's business then war must also be part of a woman's business since defence of one's country is war.

**WAR** and women. Women and war. What have these two to do with each other?

Women, whose function it is to tend and to cherish, to comfort and to console; women, whose function it is to create and to bear children with infinite patience and in great pain. What have these things to do with war, the function of which is to wound and to destroy?

The answer is that these functions are entirely opposed to each other, that war is not only unrelated to and incompatible with the life and functions of womanhood, but that women by their refusal to participate in war could make war impossible.

There are in this country today numbers of women who have never before undertaken any kind of work, yet roused to enthusiasm by the call of patriotism are now engaged in many forms of voluntary service. The threat of war and the declaration of war brought an immediate offer of service from thousands of women of all classes.

The desire for peace has, apparently, no equivalent urge. If all the energy now being expended by these thousands of women on war work, could in the last

twenty years, have been turned to the promotion of peace it is more than probable that we should not now be at war.

It may be said that everything possible was done to avert this war, but peace is something much more than averting war. The armed truce which has prevailed since the signing of the Armistice twenty-one years ago cannot be called peace. In order to have peace the conditions for peace must be created; people must be educated to know the causes of war so that they may understand and demand from their Governments the removal of these causes. There is enough work in education and social service, which is a necessary step to the changing of the economic conditions which lead to war, to occupy all the women who are now so willingly giving their services in the cause of war.

Not long ago we celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of the day on which the last war ceased; it is twenty-one years since those of us who lived through those four years of war, vowed that for the sake of that generation, who died in the belief that they were fighting in the greatest cause the world had ever known, the cause of everlasting peace, we would see to it that they had not died in vain.

We cannot evade the responsibility which was ours then and is still ours today; there was a lesson to be learned and we did not learn it, the lesson that wars create bitterness which inevitably leads to injustices and resentment and ultimately must produce more wars.

**MANY** women feel that they are helpless to do anything to prevent war, far less to promote peace, but there is one

thing they can do; they can refuse to participate in war.

It may be said that it is not enough merely to refuse help, but a refusal can become a positive step toward peace in that the refusal of women to belie their womanhood by assisting in the business of war would have forced the Government to look for some other way.

There are many women alive today whose sons, brought into the world in pain, reared to manhood with sacrifice and patience, died because men could not find a way to settle disputes except by war. Every lover, husband or brother is some woman's son; every woman is the potential mother of a son, and what that son is, and what he will become, may depend upon her outlook and her understanding.

**MEN** have made wars, men have invented the machines and the chemicals, the explosives and the weapons of warfare, and now that war has become so horrible that civilization itself is in danger of destruction, men cannot find a way to prevent it.

It is time, then, for women to take a hand, not in supporting the war machine, not in aiding the forces of destruction, but in building up a new order and in creating the conditions necessary for peace.

Sir Samuel Hoare has given a call to women to assist in a work of destruction that is entirely contrary to all the natural instincts of womanhood. Women must choose whether they will answer that call or whether they will answer the call within themselves; a call which means as much sacrifice of time and leisure, of comfort and pleasure as war does, the call to creative, constructive peace building.



SYBIL MORRISON

addressing an open-air meeting during last year's summer conference of the Peace Pledge Union

## The Editor's Point of View THE PRIMARY LESSON

**T**HOSE of us who would like to take the Government's assurance that they do not want the war to go on "a day longer than is necessary" as sincere must have had difficulty in explaining the latest statement of British war and peace aims—Lord Halifax's reply to the debate in the House of Lords on Tuesday of last week.

He even expressed our misgivings himself. Declaring that this country was not "moved by any spirit of vengeance," he admitted: "I recognize the truth of what has been said about the increasing difficulty of maintaining this position in the hearts of our people as the war goes on."

That at any rate was honest. Let those who favour the continuance of the war because they believe it to be still "necessary" be as honest—especially with themselves.

### A Conference—When?

Lord Halifax (though some of us may not think it!) is fully aware that "a great many people" are arguing that "you will have to have a conference some time, why not have it before you have had to pay the price that war exacts?" These people had been writing to him about it.

His answer was that "the success of any conference depends on the conditions of its meetings." No-one will quarrel violently with that, but was the Foreign Secretary on strong ground in pointing to the disaster of Munich as an argument against conference as a method of settling disputes and difficulties?

He spoke of Herr Hitler's "right-about-turn after the solemn undertakings" given at Munich, and declared that that "shows that no conference can be counted successful unless that habit of disregarding assurances is abandoned . . . and it is little use deluding ourselves with wishful thinking about the results to be achieved by conference until the primary lesson has been learnt by those who would take part in it—namely, that force is a bad plan—and there is no evidence yet that the German Government had learnt that primary lesson."

Finally, Lord Halifax summed up "the two prerequisites for a conference" as

"first, that there should be evidence that the German Government were willing to accept terms which would correspond to the purposes for which we took up arms, and everybody knows what those were; and, secondly, that there should be security that any settlement reached would be respected."

**GOOD.** The funny thing is that many pacifists probably find themselves in general agreement with all that! That, in fact, makes them all the more appalled at the prospect of pursuing the war to its disastrous end in the hope of establishing anything like those conditions.

For if we are to wait until the Germans are defeated in war—and all reports from neutral sources of information concerning conditions in Germany are unanimous that it is madness to expect either material, economic, or moral pressure to change the Nazi regime—we shall not have a German Government that is willing to accept our terms in any proper sense of the word "willing."

The experience of the last defeat of the German people should be sufficient proof of that. From it, too, we know that there can be no security that the settlement reached in such conditions will be respected.

### Divided Against Itself

Even if a revolution in Germany did produce a Government willing to accept our terms, the force of our arms is obviously incapable of teaching the Germans "the primary lesson . . . that force is a bad plan"—unless, indeed, it were a spiritual revolution that established something like the pacifist spirit as the controller of most German people's minds!

But Lord Halifax apparently thinks we should be deluding ourselves if we supposed that worthwhile results could come from a conference held between parties that had not learnt that "primary lesson." And though it would be a cruelly foolish thing to say that no adjustment must or can ever be made except by force, because

(Continued on page 7)

## A VOICE FROM AMERICA

To the Editor of "Peace News."

**M**ANY of us here in America are watching your struggle in England with the deepest interest and admiration. "Peace News" has given us a profound feeling of fellowship and participation in your fight for peace.

Although our fight here has been concentrated on keeping America out of the war, you have set a clear precedent for action and courage. For the thousands of us in such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the War Resisters' League, your fight has become more and more identified with our own.

"Peace News" must keep on coming through to us, for only rarely do we find the smallest items about your work in the press of our own country, and there it is usually distorted. You must know that our hands have spanned the Atlantic, that your struggle is our struggle, no word, no act of ours is too small for us to share.

We do not think you need this knowledge to fortify your courage, but it should give you a larger view of the common struggle for peace and for freedom among men of all nations, all races, and creeds.

IRWIN STARK.

477 West 143 Street,  
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### "THEY DID NOT FIGHT"

A Record of British Objectors to War, 1914-1918. How they were Manhandled, Imprisoned, Starved . . . and why they objected.

By CLARA COLE

1/- from Labour's Northern Voice  
2 Russell Street, Manchester.

ADELPHI MUSIC CLUB  
(THE DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB)

A CHORAL and INSTRUMENTAL  
**CONCERT**

INCLUDING  
CHRISTMAS CAROLS  
at 8 p.m.

THURSDAY, 21st Dec., 1939

The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club  
BINNEY STREET, OXFORD ST., W.1

(Binney Street is a turning off Oxford Street. From Bond Street Tube Station it is the second turning on the left towards Marble Arch. The Club is 100 yards down on the right.)

Admission Free :: Collection



# "Do You Want HIM To Kill -- For YOU?"

War would be impossible if the womenfolk of the world refused to allow their men to fight.

Mothers, wives, sisters, sweethearts . . . it is upon their love and inspiration that the vast mass of men rely when great decisions are to be made. One of the greatest of these decisions men may be called upon to make is whether or not they will consent to kill their fellowmen at the behest of their Government. Women, thinking wisely, could convince them finally of the truth of what most of them instinctively know—that war is wrong, wasteful and futile, an outrage against all humanity.

They can do this if they think realistically of war, if they think imaginatively of women like themselves in other lands whose sons, brothers and sweethearts are the "enemy" to be exterminated.

On this page are four pieces of writing which may help towards that vision.

## THE PRIMARY LESSON

(continued from page 6)

it would not be perfect while men are still imperfect, he is right where big and fundamental issues are at stake.

In which case we need to ask ourselves two immediate and searching questions. First, have we ourselves learnt the "primary lesson"? Second, how (since effective use of force obviously cannot teach the lesson that "force is a bad plan") can the Germans be taught the lesson, so that we may make a sure peace with them?

If we are honest, I suggest we are bound to answer the first question in an emphatic negative. It is true that "no-one wants war," but at best that is only "text-book learning."

We clearly do not, as a nation, really believe that "force is a bad plan." If we did, we would not now be resorting to it. Nor would we be using all our official and unofficial instruments of persuasion to get as many conscientious objectors as possible to take part in the national war effort.

But let the point pass; for the sake of argument, though those of us who love our country and therefore want it to contribute to the success of a peace effort cannot let it pass till the lesson is put into practice. What of the further question?

### The Alternative

Apart from taking us back to the first question, since we cannot hope to teach others till we ourselves have learnt, it brings us on to the whole of the pacifist's constructive case. For though force is a bad plan, it is the only plan—unless we advance another.

Hence, the very proposal of some alternative is the way to show up the badness of force. This is the way to make a conference possible. Let it be frankly admitted that the risk must be run of not succeeding all at once. But at any rate, it provides the most hopeful chance, while meeting force with counterforce can never succeed in producing a conference that has the elements that we all agree are necessary for success.

AND the more just our proposals the less the risk of failure. What those proposals might be like it should not be difficult to imagine. Elsewhere in this issue we publish the imaginings of a single group of the Peace Pledge Union, and some broader principles, upon which these or other detailed ideas might be based, are still being canvassed by the National Peace Council.

But unless we can first agree, as a nation—we cannot be responsible individually for influencing the public opinion of other countries much—that a continuance of the war is an utterly futile and wrong way of achieving our peace aims, and that offering to discuss them all in a spirit of frankness and generosity is much more hopeful, it is sheer waste of time to daydream about the precise details of the pretty picture we shall never see.

**Humphrey S. Moore**

### "Peace Terms"

#### Discussion Group

A "Peace Terms" Discussion Group has been meeting recently in The Folk House, College Green, Bristol, on alternative Sundays at 3.45 p.m. Future dates are to be arranged. It was decided at the first meeting to discuss the following subjects: The Character and Time of the Peace Conference; Political States and Frontiers; Problems of Population; Economic Problems; and Long Term Problems.

## A QUESTION FOR EVERY WOMAN

### 20 Years to Create: 1 Second to Destroy

DURING those nine months they are engaged in the most delicate work of construction which can be imagined. It is on that divine creation that their physical—and probably much of their subconscious—energies are concentrated; to it that their activities and pleasures are disciplined . . . it is a period of subordination of the self to another self, a deep experience, a living lesson in self-denial and devotion . . . and then the miracle of childbirth!

The child is there, alive, a source of joy, but a source of responsibility. The mother becomes a slave. Day or night, in health or in sickness, all her time belongs to the new master blissfully ignorant of his egoism and privilege. Fears, cares, precautions, saving of food and money for the child, rosaries of small, quiet sacrifices, a continuous attitude of self denial, watchful attention over everything from vehicles to microbes, always from the point of view of that precious life.

The school years. More expense. A wider area of dangers. A deeper concern. Perhaps an illness or two. The terrible doubts on the doctor's face. Sleepless nights of agony. Life like a black, blank sphinx, cruelly silent. The world like a meaningless desert when that precious life is imagined lost. The joy of recovery! The convalescence. More expense. More courage. More work. More patience. More sacrifice. More years of silent drudgery and routine in the backyard of life. And so that precious life is twenty! It took twenty years of anxiety, labour, sacrifice and intelligence; but see, the precious life is there. A joy to the eyes. A youth full of health, intelligence, force and beauty.

A stray bullet in one second strikes him dead.

It has taken twenty years to make him. . . . It took one second to destroy him. . . .

**Salvador de Madariaga**

### Ritual

WHY, it's like a ritual of sacrifice!

So much cereal, and a slice

Of hard, dry bread;

So much sleep, and so much play;

(Baby learned to walk today!)

Now we find

Where the years have led:

A strong young man

Is lying dead,

An enemy bullet

In his head.

Aye, it was for this, through laughter and tears,

I kept the ritual of those years!

**Jessie Holt**

## Big Youth Vote for Peace Talks

BY 165 votes to 17 a conference held by the British Youth Peace Assembly in London on Saturday, called for an immediate peace conference.

More than 500 attended the conference; voting was by delegations.

"While I would hesitate to say that this vote represents the general views of British youth on the subject of the war," wrote the Political Correspondent of *Reynolds News* on Sunday, "the three hours' debate preceding the decision had a significance which the political parties would be unwise to ignore."

"The conference, which represents every section of youth organizations—political, social, and industrial—was by no means confined to the extreme Left."

### Norway and Sweden

#### Commemorate Peace

Shortly before the outbreak of the war Norway and Sweden celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the erection of a Peace Monument on their common frontier.

The memorial was built to signalize the peaceful separation of the two countries and the good relations existing between them since that time. The ceremony was sponsored by the Norwegian Peace Union and the Youth Peace Conference.—Nofrontier News Service.

### "A Little White Cross"

BARRING a God-sent miracle, there is to be another war,

Stop and think—this is not just crying "Wolf."

Most of my friends have sons, big and strong, with torsos like wedges, and stomachs like washboards.

Remember this, they are the first to go always.

You have given them all you have. You have watched them since the time they were little red helpless things chewing their toes.

Watched them as their legs stretched long and straight and their chests turned into barrels.

Watched them until you must look up at them, not down, and have been proud.

Can't you do something that will allow them to be more than a memory and a little white cross in those ghastly acres of the dead?

**Kerr Eby**

### A Challenge to Womanhood

THERE is, perhaps, no woman, whether she has borne children or be merely potentially a childbearer, who could look down upon a battlefield covered with slain, but the thought would rise in her:

"So many mothers' sons. So many young bodies brought into the world to be there! So many months of weariness and pain while bones and muscles were shaped within! So many hours of anguish and struggle that breath might be. So many baby mouths drawing life at women's breasts—all this, that man might lie with glazed eyeballs, and swollen faces, and fixed blue, unclosed mouths, and great limbs tossed—this, that an acre of ground might be manured with human flesh, that next year's grasses or poppies or karoo bushes may spring up greener and redder, where they have lain, or that the sand of a plain may have the glint of white bones."

And we cry, "without an inexorable cause, this must not be." No woman who is a woman says of a human body, "It is nothing."

**Olive Schreiner**

## Month in Jail For Refusal To Register

REFUSAL to complete a national registration form, in order to show "that some few of us at least are determined to express our unwillingness to co-operate in the war-schemes of the Government," has resulted in a month's imprisonment for a Westcliff-on-Sea member of the No Conscription League.

He is Mr. Michael O'Day, and a letter he sent to the National Registration Officer was read when he appeared in Bournemouth Police Court last week. He had written:

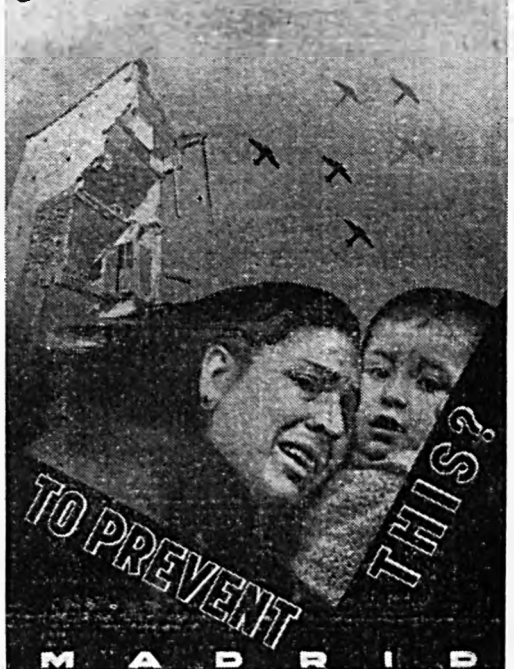
"In itself such action, I am aware carries comparatively little weight, but as a gesture, especially at the present time, acts such as this may be of untold value."

The chairman of the bench said that the excuse was a poor one, and when Mr. O'Day asked if he had the alternative of going to prison instead of paying the £5 fine, he was told: "Yes—one month."

It is understood that Mrs. O'Day also intends to refuse to complete the registration form if she is asked to do so.

A pamphlet by Douglas J. J. Owen entitled *Absolute Conscience: A Defence of the Uncompromising Conscientious Objector*, has been published by the Manchester Friends' Peace Committee, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2, from whom copies are obtainable at 1d. each (12 for 1s. 4d., 100 for 7s. 6d. post paid)

## WHAT ARE YOU DOING



Madrid . . . Warsaw . . . ? . . .

## The Pope on the Root Cause of the War

By a Roman Catholic Priest

ON the first Sunday in Advent, His Holiness Pope Pius XII issued his encyclical, to be read to the people in every Catholic Church in the world.

The encyclical letter turns for the most part on the unhappy state the world has got itself into, morally. As for the war, the Pope is too clear-headed and too well-informed to lay the blame on any particular individual. This will be disappointing to those whose stock-phrase is: "Just to think ALL THIS has been brought on by one man. . . ."

We always tend when we're in a mess to put the whole blame on someone else. It is human nature; it is also a habit with politicians and press-men. Actually any sound economist will tell us the conditions upon which modern war is founded, among them, gigantic armaments to defend our trade routes, the powerlessness and degradation of the masses of our people in order to suck the bulk of foreign trade.

### How Evils Arise

Hence it is not surprising that the Holy Father in his encyclical speaks of "Standards which depend on the selfish interests of groups and individuals."

"The evils," says Pope Pius XII, "from which mankind suffers today come in part from economic instability and from the struggle of interests regarding a more equal distribution of the goods which God has given man as a means of sustenance and progress. It is not less true that their root is deeper . . . belonging to the sphere of . . . moral convictions . . ."

He then goes on to deplore the irreligion that is not peculiar to any one country, the blame that we all share. He speaks, too, of his last-minute efforts to avert war; he tells us that his counsels were listened to respectfully in some quarters, but nevertheless politely ignored.

### What of the Future?

Then the Pope asks a searching question: "That future which, according to the promises of the powerful ones of this world, is to consist once the bloody conflict of today are over, in a new order founded on justice and prosperity! Will that future be really different? Above all will it be better? Will treaties of peace, will the new international order at the end of this war be animated by justice and by equity towards all, by the spirit which frees and pacifies? Or, will there be a lamentable repetition of old and recent errors?"

Having read the encyclical, one is left forcibly convinced that the spirit in which it should be pondered is one of profound humility.

### Catholics Look at War

Over two hundred people attended the Caxton Hall, London, last week to hear Dr. Orchard and Eric Gill address a "PAX" meeting on "Catholics Look at War." Mr. A. C. F. Beales was in the chair.

A stimulating discussion followed the addresses which served to establish to some extent the Catholic views on war and especially how far they were prepared to resist conscription.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Women's Peace Witness

AS the Women's Silent March through London will not now take place on Saturday, I intend to repeat my own individual witness against war, and shall spend Sunday, December 17, in London parading the streets with my banner—"For the sake of children everywhere—I appeal to men to stop this war."

I definitely neither invite nor desire anyone to accompany me; but I do suggest that if each woman who had intended to walk

in the procession was inspired to go out alone, and independently parade with her own banner (home-made) through London streets on that day—and any other day—the spontaneous reaction in the public mind to such a witness would be a revived hope for the future of mankind and renewed faith in the fundamental sanity of the human race.

My own feeling is that if this war continues I shall be partly responsible for the slaughter and for the suffering. Therefore I must do everything in my power to give expression to the deepest instinct of a woman's nature: the instinct to save rather than to destroy life; to heal the suffering of the world, not add to it; in fact, to save "children everywhere," and so to save the human race.

Therefore, although I shall appear to be on parade alone next Sunday, actually I shall be millions-strong because I shall know that I am expressing quite simply the will of millions of women in this and other belligerent countries

MARY A. TAYLOR.

24 Falkner Street, Liverpool, 8.

### Premier's War Aims

One of the most disturbing features of the Prime Minister's recent broadcast, in which he referred to war aims, is the impression it gives of a man no longer master of the situation he has created. He spoke as though he were being swept along by the torrent of dangerous forces he had unloosed, trusting that he might reach what most of us feel to be an unattainable objective, but, on his own admission, not knowing who, after a time, may be friend, or who, foe and showing plainly that even if his hopes are realized he has no grasp of the factors with which he will have to deal.

Politically these factors of his "Utopia," if we should defeat Germany, would be—one chastised aggressor nation; two unchastised and unrepentant aggressor nations—Russia and Italy; Britain, France and the neutral States.

Economically he hopes to make an international trade paradise out of the following discordant elements—Germany and Italy with a real wealth (goods and services) standard for money-issue and a partiality for barter trade agreements; Britain and France firmly wedded to a hostile orthodox finance policy, with a gold and Treasury Bill standard for money-issue, a distaste for barter trade, and a partiality for currency speculation, favourable trade balances, and irrepayable foreign loans; Russia, enigmatical and reputed by some, in spite of certain unorthodox practices, to have connexion with Wall Street financiers inspired by personal rivalry for the group controlling the City of London and the Bourse.

No; that way lies, not Utopia, but chaos.

TAVISTOCK.

Cairnsmore, Newton Stewart,  
Wigtownshire.

### "Evolution of Reason"

Whilst most pacifists, like myself, may feel inclined to spread the doctrine, it is well to remember that the evolution of morality and reason in men's minds is a plant—sort of slow (but none the less solid) growth. It is one thing to propagate a belief (and none may spread so seeming fast) but another to realize that all the pushing, shoring, and hot-gossiping of sincere believers will finally be stored in the evolving rationality. May they push never so hard and shout never so loud, the storehouse of reason held by the community *en bloc* will be scanned and the stocks considered in turn and at opportune moment; and stock will be discarded or mayhap adopted if true and sound and beneficial.

Assuredly truth is a voice of select sort rather and will yet be heard (being consistent and durable of voice). Shout a truth, it is not stronger, for that, than its

I HAVE read Mr. John Middleton Murry's analysis of Hitlerism with care and respect. Somehow, though, I feel he has stopped rather short, and to me he has given too scanty attention to the psychology of the individual Hitler. I suggest that before we begin either to criticize or seek to understand Hitler's efforts to improve the lot of the German nation (people) by force, we should decide whether his prime motive is love of the Germans or love of himself and his own meteoric attainments.

Hitler has proclaimed passionately his devotion to the German people. Is he sincere? If he were sincere would he not have hesitated before involving so many of them in misery and destruction? Hitler knew the consequences of an attack on Poland, yet he stubbornly persisted on the road to war, and the lives of thousands of his "beloved" Germans were ruthlessly sacrificed on the Eastern front, with every likelihood of a further cataclysm on the West.

Let us face the question: is Hitler interested in anything except his own power and influence? We have the following stages: first, and this is a very significant stage, Hitler has imposed himself on his own country by force (this does not need much establishing; it will be recognized that the German people are not free to say—let alone translate their wishes into effective action—whether they want Hitler or not); second, Hitler has imposed himself on surrounding countries by force, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland; and for a further stage who dare say that if success had continued to attend his efforts he would not have extended his belligerence to the very ends of the earth?

How should we measure the greatness or success of a nation? I suggest a nation, however small, can be considered truly great and successful when the people have freedom, security and prosperity. Hitler has manifestly failed to give the German people any of these three. Instead of peaceful and economic reconstruction, the Hitler regime has meant armaments reconstruction and the glorification of force apparently for its own sake.

I see in Hitler a vigorous, wilful personality whose one dominating aim has been to secure for himself the fullest measure of power. And that he has sprung up in Germany rather than anywhere else is because the soil in that country was so suitable for the nurturing of such an unpleasant plant.

The problem of the future will be for the peoples of the world to set up governments which they can control. No one who has faith in the future of humanity can give up the hope that in course of time we may see governments controlled by the people instead of people controlled by the governments, whether each government consists of one man or 600-odd.

CLIFFORD MARSHALL.

53 Halifax Road, Todmorden, Lancs.

"Napoleon was all right: it was the Emperor that was out of gear," wrote D. H. Lawrence. Such an aphorism might epitomise Adolf Hitler and Nazism.

It seems inherent in men that before they can attain a true relationship there must be a desire to meet in some common "belief"—if it is but physical and not merely mental. The physical hero is the one who is capable of touching and transmitting this principle of belief. And, it is good insofar as it confines itself to constructive effort. But, when it invokes Zionism (!) in the name of a Pure Race Theory and takes glory as its end—a glory

S. J. SCOTT.

354 Hykeham Road, Lincoln.

which finds consummation in destruction—then it is "out of gear" and is at war with a greater harmony of life.

ERIC S. SANDFORD.

Smethwick, Staffs.

### Conscription

Frank Hancock draws attention to a danger which many of us foresaw when the Military Training Act, with its generous provisions for Conscientious Objectors, was first introduced, namely, that the military machine, having failed in 1916-18 to put down pacifism by persecution, might now try to kill it by kindness. As one watches the adjudications of the tribunals one cannot avoid the conclusion that in many cases the lot of the Conscientious Objector has been made too easy.

Redemption for Society can only be purchased by sacrifice: by the vicarious suffering, voluntarily incurred, of those who have a vision of the new world order. Except some of us are prepared to suffer for our faith, there can be no salvation for the community.

In so far as we have failed to prevent war, we of the pacifist movement have failed in our purpose: it is right that we should recognize our share of responsibility and be willing to pay the price of our failure.

Why should we have special privileges because we are pacifists? Because we hold certain religious convictions? Because we joined the PPU or the FoR in this year or that? We have no right to claim for ourselves alone exemption from military service. Rather should we protest against the whole principle of conscription as an infringement by the state of the fundamental rights of the individual.

Ought we not to consider whether, by taking advantages of the provisions of the Act—by merely registering our names as Conscientious Objectors—we do not acquiesce in that infringement? If we are to take our stand against the principle of conscription ought we not to do so by ignoring the Act altogether and refusing to register at all?

The possession of a conscience should not be a means whereby one may easily escape the consequences of a war for which we are all, in some measure, responsible. It should be not an asset, but a liability. It should get the possessor into difficulties—not out of them.

The Conscientious Objectors of the last war found this to be the case, and by their sacrifice, won recognition for the Conscientious Objector of today. Ought not the present generation of Conscientious Objectors to reject this recognition as a privilege, in the hope of establishing, as an inalienable human right, the freedom of the individual from the tyranny of the State?

ERIC G. ATTWOOD

4 Green Way, Chatham.

### An Encouraging Message

During these dreadful days one sometimes hears of Christian pacifists becoming utterly despondent because their priest, parson or minister exhorts them to support this war. I have felt despondent myself for the same reason. But S. Thomas à Kempis in *The Imitation of Christ* has an encouraging message for us. It is to be found in the 24th chapter, and reads:

"Son . . . what is it to thee whether that man be such or such, or whether this man do or speak this or the other? Thou dost not need to answer for others, but for thyself thou shalt give an account. Why, therefore dost thou meddle with them? Behold, I know all men, and see all things that are done under the sun, and I know how it is with everyone, what he thinks, what he would have, and at what his intention aims. To Me, therefore, are all things to be committed; but do thou keep thyself in good peace; and let the unquiet be as unquiet as he will."

F. H. ENGLEHAART.

4 Prospect Road, New Barnet, Herts.

### WAR AIMS AND RECONSTRUCTION

ANOTHER VERSAILLES?  
FEDERATED EUROPE OR  
SOCIALIST  
COMMONWEALTH?

Socialist Party of Great Britain  
MASS MEETING  
CONWAY HALL,  
RED LION SQUARE, HOLBORN

6.30 p.m., Sunday, December 17, 1939

Speakers: C. Lester, R. Robertus

Chairman: Tony Turner

All Welcome Questions

### Points from Letters on

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES

In your last issue John Barclay urged every member of the Peace Pledge Union to support the work of our Council. It may be appropriate to mention that our Council is a non-party organization, set up at the beginning of 1934 to defend democratic rights. Although we are an entirely independent body, we have worked in close association with the various Peace Societies. Our free legal service has proved of considerable help to them on questions involving a principle of civil rights. We have between thirty and forty cases in our files in which pacifists have been improperly interfered with by the police. I would urge all groups and branches of the Peace Pledge Union to affiliate to our Council, and to acquaint themselves with their legal rights in regard to meetings, literature, &c.

RONALD KIDD, Secretary, National Council for Civil Liberties, Morley House, 320 Regent Street, W.1.

#### FEDERAL UNION

As already a large body of pacifists are more than favourably disposed towards the idea of Federal Union as their main peace aim, it is necessary that some deep thinking be done on the subject. Federal Union means, in effect, a League of Fascist nations for bigger and better Capitalism and Imperialism. We in Britain have to begin to create the British Co-operative Commonwealth before the question of a United States of Europe can become a practical issue.

WILL HAYDEN.

76 Calabria Road, N.5.

#### CHURCHES AND PEACE

I've been looking for peace posters on church boards in vain. I've seen one on a mission hall board. May I earnestly appeal through your columns that this may be remedied quickly. "The children of this world are still wiser than the children of light."—Luke 16, v. 8.

C. D. ALDIS.

Cardiff Road, Norwich.

#### POLITICAL ACTION

We attended a meeting of the PPU group at Epsom. Whereas we agreed with their ideas that war should be stopped, we feel that some more definite policy should be stated. The solution must be political. Therefore we feel that a new political body should be founded.

Will any members of the PPU who are interested get in touch with any one of the following:

G. R. PRIMOVESI, 99 Great Tattenhams, Epsom Downs, Surrey; T. WEIR, 17 Horsley Close, Epsom, Surrey; or CHRISTOPHER BARCLAY, 6 Burgh Heath Road, Epsom, Surrey.

#### TOC H AND THE WAR

As a member of Toc H who is dismayed at the degree of support which this society appears prepared to give to the war, I should be most grateful if you would give me the opportunity of getting into touch with the considerable body of pacifist opinion which I am confident must exist within the membership. In spite of the attitude expressed in the Toc H Journal, I am convinced that war is entirely incompatible with the principles and spirit of Toc H. If members who feel this to be true would drop me a postcard it should be possible to obtain an estimate of the extent of such opinion and also to make it vocal.

CYRIL WELLINGTON,

12 The Avenue, Highams Park, E.4.

#### 1916 TRIBUNALS

Your correspondent, Mr. James Henderson, is inaccurate in stating that the Central Tribunal had not sat before it undertook the special function of examining conscientious objectors in the civil prisons. That procedure arose from the abuses taking place in the military prisons to which conscientious objectors were originally sent. The exemption granted by the Central Tribunal in its original capacity had legal effect. In its capacity of testing conscientious objectors who were in prison as a result of court-martial conviction, its decision had no legal effect, but formed the basis of a conditional pardon issued by the King, which was revocable at will. I write as a member of the Executive of the No Conscription Fellowship from the formation of the Fellowship till its dissolution.

C. H. NORMAN.

33 Heathcroft, Hampstead Way, N.W.11.

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.



## BOOKS

## Ethel Mannin

recommends

## JOHN SCANLON'S LATEST

"ARMAMENT firms," says Mr. John Scanlon in his sardonically amusing new book, *But Who Has Won?* (G. Allen & Unwin, 6s.), "will agree that in the last twenty years only one thing has stimulated recovery in their business more than a disarmament conference, and that was the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact."

He points out later that "three weeks after America signed the Kellogg Pact renouncing all war that country ordered fifteen cruisers"—just as Mr. Chamberlain "did not begin to prepare for war with Germany until he had signed the peace with that country!"

This book is of considerable importance to all students of what can only be called "the problem of peace," which is the world's greatest problem, and has been ever since 1919, when, "the war to end war" concluded, the seeds of the present war were sown at Versailles. Mr. Scanlon traces the slow, steady, poisonous growth of those seeds, through the series of disarmament and rearmament conferences from 1919 up to the present day.

## Disarmament

Of the 1930 disarmament conference Mr. Scanlon says that it was "the most tragic spectacle in world history." It was not merely the fact of a Labour Government working for peace on a plan which they themselves said was useless. The most tragic thing was that every delegate present was the mouthpiece of men who believed fervently in peace, yet they all went round and round in circles, "not even so amusing as a kitten chasing its own tail."

In 1932 the disarmament problem was again to the fore, but "The method of disarming was to be exactly the same as at other conferences. Each country submitted its proposals and each wished to abolish the weapon the other fellow particularly wanted to maintain. Each, on the other hand, wished to keep enough to guarantee security, but security from whom and from what was never mentioned."

Mr. Scanlon speaks of the disarmament programme being launched into a "fear-ridden world," and fear, he points out, is "the parent of many troubles."

By 1934, "Whilst one set of statesmen were toiling hard to raise the price of beef, others were equally busy trying to reduce the cost of peace."

## Mr. Eden

At this time a new star arose in the political firmament, Mr. Anthony Eden. "He had done all the correct things," says Mr. Scanlon, "he had been to Eton and Oxford, and, in the course of his life, had learned all the things which men, also reared at Eton and Oxford, had to teach him. It was not that these men deliberately avoided the causes of war in their search for peace; it was merely that these men did not know, and could not possibly know... What Mr. Eden knew of the struggle for markets, the effect of the movements of gold, and other causes of war, had been imparted to him by men whose idea of life was to keep away from it."

GIVE A  
PACIFIST BOOK  
THIS CHRISTMAS

For Young People

NEW VALOUR: *Antoinette Devonshire*, 2/-

For Everyone

HOW CHRIST MET AGGRESSION: *John Hoyland* 3/6VICTORIES WITHOUT VIOLENCE: *Ruth Fry* 2/6WHIRLPOOL OF WAR: *Ruth Fry* 2/6COLLECTIVE INSECURITY: *H. M. Swanwick* 2/6CO-OPERATION or COERCION: *L. P. Jacks* 2/6PACIFISM FOR TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW: *L. P. Jacks* 1/-

Of all Booksellers, or

THE PEACE BOOK COMPANY, LTD.,

5 Goodwin's Court, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2.

Europe began, in the words of Mr. Scanlon, to "re-arm steadily for peace." Steadily and then rapidly. The rest of the mad race is recent history. By 1938 we were at war, though every country in Europe—including Germany—wanted peace.



Ethel Mannin

Both Chamberlain and Hitler, Mr. Scanlon points out, "believed their policies would keep the peace," and behind their policies was the faith of the people they represented. The people of this country had been misled into voting for peace "by the National Government method, which was to convince them that if only our defences were strong enough there would be peace."

The judgment of the people was proved tragically wrong. Their fundamental error lay "in assuming that our Parliamentarians were of a higher order of intelligence than ordinary mortals. All the facts should have taught us that they were lower."

The solution to the problem is a socialist one. Mr. Scanlon sums it up in a few terse lines when he declares, "When the producers of the world choose a Parliament of producers, we will be able to say the People have won... Political minds have never kept us out of poverty and war, and never will."

Mr. Scanlon's analysis of the causes of the present war makes reading which is both amusing and enlightening. It is a book no pacifist should miss.

## Roy Walker

discusses

## HUXLEY'S NEW NOVEL

*After Many a Summer.* By Aldous Huxley. Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d.

"IT is dangerous," wrote Pascal, "to show a man how near he is to the beasts without, at the same time, showing him his greatness." Admirable advice, but how difficult to follow. It is easy to find material for satire; difficult to find anything else. At any rate Mr. Huxley found it so.

If, in his earlier novels he was less abusive than Juvenal, he was as merciless as Swift. Man's proximity to the beasts, to a concentrated bestiality of which actual beasts are incapable, was anatomized in mordant, incisive prose.

There were the usual protests. People who had consciously constructed their private worlds from the more pleasant facets of experience and who had succeeded in refusing to recognize the unpleasant professed themselves scandalized. On one occasion Mr. Huxley was, I think, denounced from a London pulpit as "an apostle of degeneracy."

The charge is doubtless inept. It is a case, in Mr. Huxley's words, of "to the puritan all things are impure." In any case Mr. Huxley was not exclusively concerned with bestiality and as Bernard Shaw said of Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray*, anything which so clearly shows the consequences of wrong living is almost indistinguishable from a moral tract.

But it is not enough to show man how disgusting he is. He has to be shown his greatness, what he may become if he wishes.

## Huxley's Theme

So, at the end of the second novel, *Those Barren Leaves*, the philosopher ascends the mountain. His meditations took time and meanwhile Mr. Huxley wrote *Antic Hay*, *Point Counter Point*, and *Brave New World*.

Occasionally, in these books, the philosopher made him some communication, but in the main his theme is the monkey-house and the accompanying stench. *Brave New World* was obviously a climax—a terrible warning of where civilization was tending to drift; it was Mr. Huxley's Gulliver. One very solemn American critic (Mr. H. L. Mencken, I believe; if not I apologize) said severely that if this was Mr. Huxley's ideal society, he could keep it.

Towards the end of the sixth novel, *Eyeless in Gaza*, it became clear that the philosopher had returned from his solitude. His reappearance was unobtrusive, but his words portended great things. The next book was not a novel, but *Ends and Means*. There was a great deal of excitement. I am told that one venerable college accepted the book for its divinity syllabus.

## More To Come?

But it was clear that the philosophy was exacting. Moreover, although Mr. Huxley showed us how it might be expected to work on the large scale, we wondered how it would turn out as a way of living for the individual in this mad world. It was clearly a question to be answered. *After Many a Summer* does not answer it fully; but it begins the answer, and we may hope for a fuller reply in later books as Mr. Huxley's experience clarifies even further.

In *After Many a Summer* the balance begins tentatively to appear. Near to the bestial, nearer than ever, but near also to greatness, near to transcendence of the inadequacies of the merely human individuality as we know it. There is no shirking of the unpleasant; on the contrary, Mr. Huxley seems so determined to preserve a fair balance that his description of the madnerness and bestialities of the modern world is even more unsparing than before.

There is Jo Stoyte, the semi-literate millionaire, afraid of death, besieged by his own fears in a nightmarish Californian castle, surrounded by the conglomerated treasures of this world. He has a medical adviser, Dr. Obispo, who is also his private research worker on longevity. He engages Jeremy Pordage, an English dilettante, who is to catalogue the priceless Hauberk Papers. Virginia Maunciple is his doll-like mistress.

## Life Prolonged

In a modest house on the plain is William Propter, the philosopher. Stoyte rages at him, but respects him. Jeremy tries uneasily to be superior, but listens. Pete, anti-fascist, ex-International Brigade, Obispo's assistant, sits at his feet.

The philosopher gives not only some degree of spiritual comfort to these strangely-assorted people but physical comfort also to the transients, the pathetic untouchable casual workers who live during the fruit-picking season on Stoyte's estate under slave conditions.

Unexpectedly, Jeremy's examination of the Hauberk Papers throws light on Obispo's research; the Fifth Earl of Gonister apparently forestalled the scientist in discovering the value of raw carp-guts in prolonging life. In the nightmarish third section of the book—made more nightmarish by the disappearance of William Propter from the story—Stoyte, Obispo and Virginia discover the Fifth Earl still living at the age of more than two hundred, hardly human, an inarticulate ape in a dungeon. Jo Stoyte, faced with the alternatives, chooses life, life on any terms, life even if it must become the life of a foetal ape.

There is no final comment from William Propter. He could only indicate the way; Stoyte and the others must choose to follow if they will, if they can. But if they do not, nothing lies before them but the ultimate futilities, the final obscenities.

By comparison with the destiny of Jo Stoyte, the narcotic satisfactions of *Brave New World* seem positively attractive. But perhaps Mr. Propter, or whoever Mr. Huxley names as his successor, will help us to see more clearly the possibility of existence on the plane of infinity, the release from the vicious circle of bestial futility in which both those infernal states are inextricably enclosed.

## Some Christmas Suggestions

## PEACE AND WAR:

## Best of the Year's Cheap Books

BOOKS are becoming increasingly popular as presents for all occasions: the wide selection available makes things so much easier for the giver, while discriminate choice is always flattering to the recipient. Although this very abundance of titles and variety of tastes make it difficult for one to offer general advice on what books to give, a few random ideas may not be out of place on this page and at this time.

Pacifists who do not hesitate to carry their propaganda into their present-giving are very fortunate. Certain titles suggest themselves immediately. Here they are (all are available, carriage extra, from PPU Headquarters, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1):

## BY THE LATE "DICK" SHEPPARD

*We Say No!* 3s. 6d.  
*Human Parson.* 2s. 6d.  
*God and My Neighbour.* 3s. 6d.  
*Some of My Religion.* 3s. 6d.  
*Impatience of a Parson.* 3s. 6d.  
*More Sheppard's Pie.* 3s. 6d.

## BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

*Love the one Solution.* Dr. A. Herbert Gray. 3s. 6d.  
*What Every Young Man Should Know About War.* Harry Roland Shapiro. Paper, 2s. 6d.; Cloth, 3s. 6d.  
*A Catholic Looks at War.* Natalie Victor. 2s. 6d.  
*H. R. L. Sheppard. A Note in Appreciation.* 2s. 6d. and 1s.  
*Let us Honour Peace.* Elizabeth Thornycroft, Rose Macaulay, Philip Mumford, L. B. Pekin, Canon Raven, Vera Brittain, J. D. Beresford, Graham Howe, Gerald Heard, R. H. Ward. 3s. 6d.  
*An Introduction to Pacifism.* Philip Mumford. 2s.  
*The Necessity of Pacifism.* J. Middleton Murry. 3s. 6d.  
*The Military Training of Youth.* L. B. Pekin. 1s. 6d.  
*Protection from Aerial Attack.* The Cambridge Scientists. 2s. 6d.  
*Which Way to Peace?* Bertrand Russell. 2s. 6d.  
*The Faith Called Pacifism.* Max Plowman. 3s. 6d.  
*The Power of Non-Violence.* Richard Gregg. 5s.  
*Pledge of Peace.* J. Middleton Murry. 3s. 6d.  
*Why Were They Proud? A Study of Empire.* Pacifist Research Bureau. 1s.  
*How Christ Met Aggression.* John S. Hoyland. 3s. 6d.

It will be noted that none of these books is priced over five shillings. For those who can spend a little more than this, the following can be recommended:

*Mankind Set Free.* Maurice L. Rowntree. 10s. 6d.  
*Ends and Means.* Aldous Huxley. 8s. 6d.  
*After Many a Summer.* Aldous Huxley. 7s. 6d.  
*The Conquest of Violence.* Bart de Ligt. 7s. 6d.  
*Union Now.* Clarence Streit. 7s. 6d.  
*Collective Insecurity.* H. M. Swanwick. 8s. 6d.  
All these, too, can be had from PPU Headquarters.  
Returning to the under-five-shillings collection, the following titles are outstanding for value in the past year's publishing:  
*Inside Germany.* Oswald Garrison Villard. Constable. 2s. 6d.  
*Diplomacy.* Harold Nicolson. Butterworth. 5s.  
*Economics or Politics?* Paul Van Zeeland. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.  
*School for Barbarians.* Erika Mann. Lindsay Drummond. 5s.  
*A Century of Nationalism.* H. L. Featherstone. Nelson. 2s.  
*The City Page.* Frank Lee. Nelson. 2s.  
*Propaganda.* R. S. Lambert. Nelson. 2s.  
*The International Share Out.* Barbara Ward. Nelson. 2s.  
*The Story of San Michele.* Axel Munthe. Murray. 3s. 6d.  
*The League Experiment.* E. E. Reynolds. Nelson. 2s.  
*Morals, Manners and Men.* Havelock Ellis. Watts. 1s.  
*The History of Liberty in Germany.* R. Olden. Butterworth. 2s. 6d.  
*Geneva.* G. Bernard Shaw. Constable. 5s.  
*Mein Kampf.* Adolf Hitler. 5s. Hutchinson. (Since the beginning of the war, all royalties on this book have been given, not to the Führer, but to the British Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance).  
*Democracy Up-to-date.* Sir Stafford Cripps. Allen and Unwin. 2s.  
*The Economic Causes of War.* Lionel Robbins. Cape. 5s.  
*Victoria Regina.* Laurence Housman. (First Cheap Edition). Cape. 5s.  
*The Black-Out Book.* Compiled by Evelyn August. Harrap. 3s. 6d.  
(Continued on page 10)



### London Members' Meetings

THERE will be no meetings of London members in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club on Tuesdays, December 19 and 26.

The next such meeting will be on January 9, following the usual group leaders' meeting on January 2, both at 7 p.m.

## Good Progress by Student Pacifists

THE Oxford University Pacifist Association can report a most satisfactory state of affairs at the end of its first war-time term. While the membership of other political clubs has dropped heavily, theirs has risen to the record number of 220. Only once before, in the Spring term of 1938, has the number risen to 200, and last term it was only 160. Meetings have been correspondingly well attended, the first being probably the largest ever held.

A number of past members have appeared before Tribunals, including one or two former chairmen of the Association. They have on the whole received fair treatment. The last sitting of the Bristol Tribunal, on December 7, 8, and 9, was the first to examine present members of the Association, beginning appropriately enough with the chairman, who was given unconditional exemption.

Following are the results of a referendum taken in the Socialist Club at the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge: Continuing the War—for, 217; against, 449; Political Truce—for, 123; against, 455; Peace Conference—for, 437; against, 149.

At the last meeting of the term held by Aberystwyth and London Universities PPU groups, a Communist and a Conservative spoke on "Why I am not a CO," and two PPU members spoke on "Why I am a CO." All four spoke ably and sincerely. The new term begins on January 21.

## JOHN BARCLAY on: THE PRICE OF PEACE

I SPENT Christmas Eve, 1917, writing letters to the next-of-kin of men killed and missing after the battle of Cambrai.

I remember how difficult it was to write to a mother about her son who had been blown to pieces by a shell. Actually, nothing remained to bury except his identity disc. He died to make the world safe for democracy, and we know he died in vain.

His mother wrote back and asked me to give her details of his death—when he was buried, whether he left a message for her and what his last words to us were. Her imagination, no doubt, was fired by the picture of a dying soldier which hangs in many homes, a soldier whose head rests on a comrade's knee and who, amidst the noise of battle, calmly takes down his last message.

The facts are nearly always otherwise. War is murder and a soldier often dies alone in a shell-hole, bleeding to death. He is paying the price of war equally with his mother, who has died with her son.

War is demanding greater sacrifices now than when I knew it in 1917. What is more, everyone is aware of its futility and horror and has to pay increasingly in actual cash as well as by suffering blackouts of light and freedom. The cost of war is increasing and must be met so long as the alternative is not faced.

What, then, is the price of peace? We must be prepared to make an equivalent sacrifice. Life cannot go on just the same, either for the war-worker or the pacifist.

We pacifists, however, believe that we are working for a time when war will cease, because we know that when men see and admit the futility of war they will refuse to support it.

We are therefore on the winning side, although in the minority at present. But to become strong other than in spirit, we must have the means to spread our literature; we need your time, your energy and your money. Cancel all engagements that are purely personal so that we can give this time to work for local groups.

Do not spare yourself in these days, which may mean so much in the future. Your energy is something which can be inspiring and contagious. Infect others with your single-mindedness and carry them with you.

Finally, I hope that all members, both those in groups and out of them, will give generously to our funds this Christmas. Let your slogan be "A Christmas present for the PPU."

Money spent on cigarettes and cigars, powder puffs and purses, cinemas and circuses, can be used by us for providing literature and leaflets for new areas and for paying bills already due.

An increasing number of our members are paying small sums each week. What about the £1,000 investor? We have room for him, too. Give all you can till it hurts!

**Women's Campaign:** Be sure to come to the Central Hall meeting on Saturday, December 16, at 2.30. Only women will be admitted. So let them come in their thousands and make it a success.

## Christmas at Headquarters

PEACE Pledge Union headquarters at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, will close on Friday evening, December 22, and will reopen on Thursday morning, December 28.

## Books for Christmas

(Continued from page 9.)

*Science and Everyday Life.* J. B. S. Haldane. Lawrence and Wishart. 5s.

These long-established and wholly admirable series, the Traveller's Library (3s. 6d.), the Phoenix Library (3s. 6d.), the World's Classics Library (2s.) and Everyman's Library (2s.) provide over a thousand titles to choose from. The Phoenix, incidentally, have just added *Beyond the Merique Bay* to their collection of Aldous Huxley cheap editions; while Everyman have on offer two really admirable volumes of *Selected Essays* by Aldous Huxley and Havelock Ellis.

Many people are giving Penguins, Pelicans and other sixpennies instead of Christmas cards this year—a splendid idea. Here the scope is very wide. Rather outstanding offers, most of them issued quite recently, are:

*Back to Methuselah.* G. Bernard Shaw. Penguin.

*The Great Illusion—Now.* Sir Norman Angell. Penguin Special.

*Refugees.* Sir Norman Angell and Dorothy Buxton. Penguin Special.

*Why War?* C. E. M. Joad. Penguin Special.

*Travels of a Republican Radical in Search of Hot Water.* H. G. Wells. Penguin Special.

*Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Sovietism and Fascism.* (Two vols.). Pelican.

*We Europeans.* Julian Huxley, A. C. Haddon, and A. M. Carr Saunders. Pelican.

*What I Believe.* E. M. Forster. Hogarth.

Selection is admittedly difficult, but the would-be donor need not be too worried on this account; he may send a Book Token. These are available from most booksellers and are value for any amount. The recipient may exchange the token at his own bookseller's for the title of his choice.

## How P.P.U. Groups Are Working for Peace

A MEETING of the Bungay Pacifist Society last week was addressed by Stuart Morris and presided over by the Rev. P. R. Johnson.

The chairman, in his introductory remarks, said that freedom of thought and of speech would be the first victims of the war. These were prophetic words, for within a few minutes the lights were switched off at the main in an attempt to hinder the meeting.

Shortly afterwards, at the beginning of Stuart Morris's talk the meeting was further interrupted by the noisy entry of an ex-special constable who demanded that lights on cars outside should be switched on. Later he returned and stated that it was his intention to prevent the meeting from being continued. This he did by repeating in a loud voice everything said from the platform.

It was evident that the meeting could not be continued under these circumstances, so a member of the society offered the use of her house, where the meeting was resumed.

### Mass Demonstration for Glasgow

A MASS peace demonstration has been planned by the Glasgow region for Saturday, December 23. This will take the form of a poster parade in which it is hoped that every anti-war organization in the city will take part.

It is intended to have at least 500 people in the procession, which will include appropriate Christmas slogans.

On the following evening a large anti-war demonstration will be held in the St. Andrews Halls, at which the speakers will be James H. Hudson and Jack Gibson.

### Bromley Poster Parade

A POSTER parade was held in Bromley, Kent, on Saturday, December 2, as a protest against the illegal police ban on a previous parade.

The parade extended for over half a mile and was made up of PPU members of Bromley and adjacent groups. There was a general sympathy apparent in the crowds and there was no disturbance from any source.

The parade was followed by an open-air meeting in the High Street, which was addressed by Basil Painting. There was a very large attendance.

### "Birmingham Bulletin"

THE Birmingham Council has decided to issue a Bulletin to give news of local groups' activities. It will be called the *Birmingham PPU Bulletin*.

The Editorial Committee would be pleased to receive news and orders for the Bulletin. They should be addressed to the Committee, c/o Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head, Birmingham.

### Littlehampton Changes Quarters

THE Littlehampton group held the first meeting in its new and more accessible quarters at the end of last month. Mr. Hope-Gill was in the chair.

Several interested non-members were present, including representatives of the local Labour and TU organizations, and the Urban District Council. Questions and general discussion followed the reading of a paper by Mr. F. J. Pete on "Which Way to Peace?"

West Sussex pacifists should note that the day of the weekly meeting has been changed to Thursday at the Trades and Labour Hall, Clifton Road, at 8 p.m.

### Big Stockport Meeting

A VERY successful public meeting, at which Stuart Morris, Wilfred Wellock and Dr. A. Belden spoke under the chairmanship of Alderman C. Royle, was held on Sunday, December 3, under the supervision of the Stockport group. Stuart Morris and Dr. Belden presented the Christian pacifist position, while Wilfred Wellock

contributed an able analysis of the economic causes of the present conflict and pointed out the methods which would bring their removal.

### Stockton Mock Tribunal

A MOCK Tribunal was held in connection with the Stockton-on-Tees group last week. It was well attended and was supported by some members from West Hartlepool.

The "tribunal" consisted of five members, two of whom were non-pacifists, and the applicants were thoroughly tested.

The group meets on alternate Mondays at 7.30 p.m. in the Adult School, Dovecot Street, and all pacifists in the district are welcome.

### Cambridge Discussion Group

MEMBERS of the Cambridge groups and others interested met every Thursday at 8 p.m. in the Friends' Meeting House, Jesus Lane, to discuss important issues connected with pacifism. At last week's meeting, a discussion on the "Implications of Pacifism" was opened by D. S. Savage.

It was felt that the whole question was so fundamental that it should be the subject for further discussion. The question of federal union will also be gone into at future meetings.

At a meeting of the Cambridge PPU Committee it was suggested that Propaganda and Literature Secretaries be appointed. It was hoped that responsibilities could be decentralized as much as possible, and that more members would take an active part in forming discussion groups, distributing literature, &c. Besides the necessity for propaganda, there was also an urgent need for the further education in pacifist principles of members themselves, and it was hoped that a Peace Library could be formed.

### Tewkesbury Peace Group

A TEWKESBURY and District Peace group was formed at a meeting on November 22, when it was agreed to hold regular group meetings on the first Thursday each month. The first meeting was held on December 7 at The Tudor House Hotel.

By invitation of The Workers' Educational Association, members of the Peace Group are co-operating in the organization of a "Listener's Circle" which meets every Friday evening for the series of Broadcast talks by Mr. Middleton Murry on "Europe in Travail." The talks are followed by a general discussion until 9 p.m.

### Coalpit Heath Meeting

A RECENTLY formed Pacifist group (combined For and PPU) held a fine meeting in Coalpit Heath (Bristol) on November 28, addressed by L. O. Brown and F. Sillitot (chairman).

A resolution was passed unanimously stating the need for a negotiated peace and conference, where all nations should meet as equals. Copies of the resolution have been sent to the Prime Minister and local MP.

A discussion group has been arranged to follow on from the meeting and anyone interested is asked to communicate with D. Heath, Kenaston, Coalpit Heath.

### Welsh Group for Colwyn Bay

STUART Morris addressed a successful meeting at Colwyn Bay recently, which was attended by nearly three hundred people.

A Welsh group has been formed in Colwyn Bay and it has already planned and started a campaign to gain the support of Churches and Chapels. There is the fullest co-operation between the English and Welsh groups and Stuart Morris's meeting was the first joint effort.

A MEETING of the Bognor group last week was addressed by the Rev. F. G. Fincham on "Pacifism in Poetry and Prose." The address was illustrated with extracts and quotations from writers, whose dates ranged from the earliest years of the Christian Church to the period of the Great War.

### Proposed Anerley Group

SIGNATORIES in Anerley and district are trying to start an Anerley group with a regular weekly meeting. Anyone interested, who has not yet been communicated with, should write to John E. Norris, 240a Anerley Road, Anerley, S.E.20, so that they may be notified of these meetings.

### Richard Bishop at South Molton

RICHARD Bishop addressed an invitation meeting at South Molton recently, which was presided over by the group chairman, Spencer Vivian.

The meeting was well attended and Mr. Bishop was asked many questions.

### Cardiff Group Meetings

THE Cardiff group now meets every Tuesday evening at 7 p.m. in the Friends' Meeting House, 43 Charles Street, Cardiff. All are welcome.

### Market-Gardening Scheme

REPRESENTATIVES from Welwyn and Welwyn Garden City groups were at the meeting of the Oaklea Market-Gardening Scheme Committee on December 2, when Brian Barnett, a well-known local Quaker, took on the chairmanship of the Scheme. Total money receipts were reported as amounting to £57 12s. 8d.

Much work had been accomplished since the previous meeting. Seven acres were ploughed, prepared. The progress made was viewed as highly satisfactory by the committee and local support in money and in kind was warmly acknowledged.

Plans were made for the coming weeks both in indoor and outdoor work. The committee also decided that all future entrants to the Scheme should have a fortnight's probation and have their group's support to the sum of 10s. 6d. each per week.

### Success in Cambuslang

CAMBUSLANG group held a successful public meeting on Friday last, when the hall was packed with an audience of about 120. The speakers were Rev. Lewis Maclellan (Secretary for Scotland of the For), Mr. Oliver Brown, and Rev. Robert Dobbie.

The meeting was generally sympathetic, and 60 copies of *Peace News* were disposed of. Cambuslang group has recently received many new members and many contacts have been made.

### East Barnet Meeting

THE Rev. F. Howell Everson, Minister of New Barnet Methodist Church, addressed a recent meeting of the East Barnet group on "The Foundations of Christian Pacifism."

After referring to the several schools of thought among Christian Pacifists, Mr. Everson said that the progress of Christian teaching and thought on the subject of war was shown by the fact that for the first time in history great Christian communions had denounced war as a moral evil.

Mr. Everson appealed for a return to eternal values, such as religion and Christian culture.

### A Revival at Woking

The Woking group has been reformed, and will hold a public meeting in the Alalanta Hall, Commercial Road, at 8 p.m., on Thursday, December 21. Roy Walker will speak on "Armistice Now."

## Youth Works for Peace

THE boys and girls of today will be the generation that will have to pay for this war, and may be largely responsible for the shaping of the peace at the end of it. Some of them aged 14 to 20, have got together in the Youth Peace Union to pursue three aims:

1. To search for the truth;
2. To make international friendships; and
3. To work, as British citizens, for a constructive new world order and to renounce war as an instrument of national policy.

In Harrow, Middlesex, there is already a rapidly growing and active group. Members have offered their services to the public for digging gardens for growing vegetables, and to local pacifist groups for the distribution of literature.

Although the blackout prevents some from reaching meetings, and the war has caused other members to leave the district, they keep alive their comradeship by means of a circular letter.

The YPU is a national organization, and it is hoped that many more such groups will spring into life. Isolated groups of youth pacifists are invited to affiliate to the organization. Inquiries should be addressed to Arnold Daniels, 35 London Road, Sevenoaks, Kent.

## THE GROWTH OF THE "PARLIAMENT CHRISTIAN"

A recent meeting in the weekly series held in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, by the supporters of "Parliament Christian" was notable for a fine report given by the president of the organization Mr. R. J. Scrutton.

The inaugural meeting Parliament Christian decided that it would be wise to allot six weeks to the building up of the machinery for the work of the "Council Christians"—the name given to branches. The report given was of the first two weeks' work.

At Welwyn Garden City a Council Christian has been formed; their enthusiasm was such that the group made themselves responsible for a full time organizer.

In Coventry fifty of the Churches and members of the PPU promised to co-operate in the work.

At Putney the president addressed a meeting with good results.

At Forest Hill a meeting of 150 promised support.

In the West Riding within a radius of some 20 miles there has been support from the Anglo-Catholic Clergy.

In France a branch has been started and other countries show interest in the movement.

Particulars of the movement will be sent to anyone interested by the headquarters: 1 Esmond Court, Kensington Square, W.8.

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## Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

### Today (Friday)

**BURY, Lancs;** 7.15 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Knowsley Street; Wilfred Wellock, Dr. Belden, Rev. E. Watts and Rev. G. W. Gregory; PPU.

**GLASGOW;** 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Baston Street; Mock Tribunal; chairman: Peter Marshall; No Conscription League.

**FARNHAM, Surrey;** 7.30 p.m. Institute, South Street; Rev. E. P. Blamires on "Loyalty and the Peace Maker"; PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1;** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens, Fenner Brockway on "Boiled-Shirt Fascism"; PPU.

**EWELL, Surrey;** 8.15 p.m. Scouts' Headquarters (rear of Pbst Office, High Street); Pacifism and the Oxford Group Movement; PPU.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

**BRISTOL;** 2.30 p.m. Canon's Marsh, Tramway Centre; Women's Peace Procession through town to Friends' Meeting House, Broadweir; Pacifist Co-ordinating Council.

**BIRMINGHAM;** 2.45 p.m. Cambridge Crescent (behind Hall of Memory); meet for Women's Procession; the procession will coincide with the London Demonstration; Women's International League and PPU.

**PEXLEY HEATH;** 3 p.m. Clock Tower; mass Peace News sale; PPU.

**GLASGOW;** 3 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; regional aggregate meeting; W. Oliver Brown; PPU.

**LAINDON (Essex);** 3 p.m. Women's Institute, High Road; S. J. Hart on "The Patriotism of the Pacifist"; chairman: G. Smith; PPU.

**BOSCOMBE, Bournemouth;** 6 p.m. Temperance Hall, Haviland Road; Mrs. J. Hillman; PPU.

**SHEFFIELD;** 7 p.m. Victoria Hall (Upper Lecture Hall), Chapel Walk; North Midlands Regional Council Rally; John Barclay, Lady Mabel Smith (chairman); 5 p.m. Tea; PPU.

### Sunday, December 17

**LONDON, S.W.17;** 10 a.m. Holy Trinity Church; corporate communion; Celebrant: Rev. Kenneth Budd; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

**BLACKHEATH;** 3 p.m. All Saints Parish Hall; Sybil Morrison, Alan Eden-Green and Victor W. Hindwood (chairman); PPU.

**BOURNEMOUTH;** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Thomas W. Ward on "The Foundations of an Enduring Peace"; PPU.

**GLASGOW;** 3 p.m. Knightswood Band Hall; Mock Tribunal; No Conscription League.

**GLASGOW;** 2 p.m. Ruskin Hall, Riddrie; W. H. Marwick on "Don't You want to help your Country?"; PPU.

**EWELL, Surrey;** 7 p.m. Church Hall, London Road; Test Tribunal; PPU.

**GLASGOW;** 7 p.m. St. Andrews Hall; Wilfred Wellock, Jack Gibson and Wm. Gillies; No Conscription League.

**GLASGOW;** 7 p.m. Dixon Halls, Cathcart Road; Cnr. J. Carmichael, Miss Helib Low and a CO; chairman: Sir Hugh S. Robertson; No Conscription League.

**BIRMINGHAM;** 7.45 p.m. Carrs Lane Church; Interdenominational service for Peace; Rev. Leyton Richards, Rev. D. Rose and Rev. W. Walker; For.

**GLASGOW;** 7.45 p.m. ILP Rooms 548 London Road, Wm. Taylor; No Conscription League.

**PONTYPOOL;** 8 p.m. Education Settlement; Barret Brown; PPU.

### Monday, December 18

**WESTMINSTER;** 3 p.m. Caxton Hall, Caxton Street; "Animals in Time of War"; Duchess of Hamilton, Mr. George Arlis, Hannea Swaffer, Rev. R. Dauntson Fear and Dr. Beddow Bayly; chairman: Miss Lind-Al-Hageby; The Animal Defence and Anti-Vivisection Society.

**GUILDFORD;** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Ward Street; Howard A. Diamond on "Constructive Pacifism"; PPU.

**HORNSEY;** 8 p.m. Town Hall, Crouch End Broadway; Dr. Donald Soper, Preston Benson, Rev. Douglas A. Griffiths; For and PPU.

### Tuesday, December 19

**TOWER HILL;** 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Maurice Rowntree; City PPU group.

### Wednesday, December 20

**GLASGOW;** 8 p.m. King's Park Hall, Kingsbridge Drive; Sybil Morrison, W. Oliver Brown and Rev. George Docherty (chairman); PPU.

### Thursday, December 21

**BOSCOMBE, Bournemouth;** 7.30 p.m. 18 Aylesbury Road; speakers' class; PPU.

**LONDON, W.1;** 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club; Christmas Concert; admission free; collection.

### Friday, December 22

**SUNDERLAND;** 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Toward Road; L. Boddy on "Psychological effects of War"; PPU.

**GLASGOW;** 7.45 p.m. ILP Rooms, 548 London Road; Dan McArthur; No Conscription League.

### Saturday, December 23

**CROYDON;** 2.30 p.m. Katherine Street; John Barclay and Raymond Winch; PPU and PAX. Offers of help to Mrs. M. Abley, 19 Fairfield Road, East Croydon. Croydon 2634, Ext. 9.

## What They Said About War...

No. 5

"Mankind cannot commit a great sin without paying for it; the twenty post-war years have shown that war does not settle the account."

—Stanley Baldwin, May 18, 1939.

## ... Is Still True

## Progress of Appeal for Peace Aims

NEARLY 40,000 copies of an appeal to the Government for a "Declaration of Peace Terms" have been distributed throughout the country by the National Peace Council for endorsement by local organizations. The appeal urges the British Government in consultation with France and the Dominions, to indicate as explicitly as possible the sort of peace at which it aims, and to announce its willingness to enter into negotiations for a settlement of this character in a conference composed of belligerent and neutral Powers.

It is desired to bring this campaign to a climax at an early date so that the results can be formally represented to the Government. Those who are sympathetic to this endeavour should bring the appeal to the notice of any local body with which they are associated—Church, Trade Union, Women's Guild, peace group, &c.—at the earliest moment. Copies of the appeal can be obtained from the National Peace Council, at 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, without charge.

## New Community in Hampshire

A small pacifist land-community was started at Ropley (Hants.) on the outbreak of war by some members of the Hindhead (Surrey) branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The community, which is occupying itself immediately with food-growing, has a specifically Christian basis, and believes that there is a real need for pacifists in the present situation to keep alive the spirit of brotherhood as expressed in creative labour for the common good.

Wealth and work alike are shared on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Inquiries concerning the membership and work of the community should be addressed to: The Ropley Settlement, Gascoigne Lane, Ropley, Alresford, Hants., enclosing a stamped addressed envelope for reply where possible.

1½d. per word, minimum 2s.  
Box Number 6d. extra

# "No Utopia If the War Continues"

—Lord Ponsonby

"ONE matter upon which we all agree without exception is that the sort of world we have been living in for the last four years is quite intolerable. The question is, therefore, are we deliberately to make it worse before it can possibly become better?"

That question, which cuts through the rhetoric now being talked about peace aims "after we have won the war" was put by Lord Ponsonby during the debate on war and peace aims in the House of Lords last week. His speech was ignored by practically the whole of the press partly, perhaps, because he showed clearly how the Utopia held out by Lord Halifax in his broadcast was exactly same as the vision that was betrayed at the end of the last war.

Lord Ponsonby showed that after a fight to a finish such a betrayal of ideals was bound to take place. He concluded:

"With ease, no doubt, we can go on fighting until the knock-out blow is achieved. What then? It would almost seem as if the prophecy made by leading statesmen will be the only expectation which will prove true: that this war will lead to the breakdown of such civilization as we have reached. I say this in all sincerity as a warning to the Government."

"I do not ask them to say a syllable further with regard to war aims: I think it is waste of breath and raises expectations which must be falsified. It is impossible to couple a triumphant victory with the ideals of a new Europe and a better world. It simply cannot be done, and it is much better to leave off attempting to do it and to confine ourselves to a fuller consideration of the road on which we have embarked."

"There is another road. I shall not enlarge on that or anticipate the debate next week on the Motion which my noble friend Lord Darnley has on the Paper, but I say this in order to check the spate of Utopias, this attempt to raise people's hopes by seeing beyond this contest, by vain expectations which are bound to be falsified."

## ADVISORY BUREAUX FOR C.O.s

Here are four further additions to the lists of Advisory Bureaux for COs already published in *Peace News*. Any other changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureau at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and not to *Peace News*.

**HAYES.** Miss K. Clayton, 37 Crest Road, Hayes, Kent.

**WELLINGBOROUGH.** C. F. Knight, 9 Rook Street, Wellingborough, Northants.

**KENTON.** John W. Wheeler, 30, The Ridgeway, Kenton, Harrow.

**MACCLESFIELD.** R. Pickersgill, 62, Arlington Drive, Macclesfield.

## DENMARK'S EXAMPLE TO EMPIRES

COPENHAGEN.

DENMARK'S administration of Greenland sets an example for the rest of the world.

No Danes are allowed to enter the country, with its comparatively meagre resources, unless as nurses, doctors, or some other functionaries of the public welfare.

A few selected workmen are permitted to go, but the number is strictly limited.

The policy, for the sake of the population in Greenland, is definitely one of "Greenland for the Greenlanders," even though it necessitates a terrific expenditure for this small country.

Here is colonization that is beneficial and even altruistic. In such policies the "great Powers" might go to school to Denmark.

The Danes have also treated their German minority in exceptional fashion and there is no incentive for antagonism in South Jutland. Even Germans here have said that should questions arise about this minority, the Danes would be so sensible about it that fair treatment can be counted on in advance.—*Nonfrontier News Service*.

## Facts About Denmark

Since fear of German intrusion in the rights and property of her smaller neighbours is undoubtedly one of the mainsprings of the present war effort, the more that can be known about the actual facts of the situation, the better.

For this reason alone a 6d. pamphlet issued by the Friends' Peace Committee (Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1), is of special value now, even though compiled before the war began. For, as its title simply indicates, it is composed very largely of straightforward facts about Danish-German Relations in Schleswig.

Beyond that it is, in the words of its author, Eric Hayman (who has had very considerable contact over a long period of years with the people in that border country), "a guarded memorandum."

But that makes it the more useful. If it would inspire others with as great—and as sympathetic—knowledge of other countries that seem threatened by Germany to write equally authoritatively yet guardedly about their relations with Germany, this pamphlet will have served a doubly important purpose.

## For Pacifist Scouts

Mr. A. J. Wood, 24 Earlswood Gardens, Ilford, would be pleased to hear from Pacifist Scouts.

## Classified Advertisements

Latest time for copy,  
Tuesday morning

### ACCOMMODATION To Let

COMFORTABLE LODGINGS for young man, board self.—37 Denham Road, Ecclesall, Sheffield.

### EDUCATIONAL

FELCOURT SCHOOL, East Grinstead. Co-educational 9-16. A thorough education in an atmosphere free from war talk. No shelters or gas mask drill.

"THE SANCTUARY," 6 Lansdowne Crescent, Glasgow. Meeting place—progressive youth, lovers of peace, beauty, 6d. classes, elocution, public speaking, psychology, Esperanto, Sundays, 7.30. Katherine MacDonald, pacifist, humanitarian, member No Conscription League and Peace Pledge Union. Highest Festival certificates, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London.

### FOR SALE

MODERN DETACHED VILLA, 5 rooms, kitchenette, bathroom, &c. £550 Leasehold, £650 Freehold.

MODERN DETACHED BUNGALOW, 4 rooms, kitchenette, bathroom, &c. £475. Good locality, near Bournemouth.—Apply J. C. Philpotts, 4 Cromer Road, Bournemouth W.

Commencing with the issue dated  
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Due to the increased circulation of the  
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PLEASE SEND AT ONCE—Three amazing articles, including a sensational tribunal testimony exposition. This article is the first of its kind in world literature. Get it for your own sake. Send P.O. for 6d., no stamp, to Owen Voss, 65 Tichborne Street, Leicester.

### MEETINGS, &c.

END CAPITALIST WARS. Socialist Case Against War. Meeting at Unity Hall, Quex Road, Kilburn, on Friday, December 15, at 7.45 p.m. Speakers: C. A. Smith (ILP), Reg. Groves (Labour Party), Chris. Jones (Colonial Workers), George Plume (COs).

FINCHLEY PPU GROUP PARTY and dance at Christ Church Hall, High Road, North Finchley (100 yards south of Tally Ho!) this Saturday, December 16, at 7 p.m. All "PN" readers welcome. Admission free.

### PERSONAL

HOWARD.—Will man who called Fairfax Road, Chiswick, 8 December, please write, giving an address.

MORE TREASURED THAN CHRISTMAS CARDS.—"Lest We Forget"—Short Prayers and extracts from fine literature, especially valued by those on National Service. 3d. each, 2s. 6d. dozen.—Guardian House, Walthamstow, E.17.

TO ALL SUFFERERS. mentally or physically, have you tried spiritual treatment? Testimonials.—Box 249, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WANTED experienced modern shoe repairer to negotiate co-partnership business.—Write H. "Oakleigh," Hampstead Road, Bristolington, Bristol.

### PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER.—Leaflets, handbills, stationery, cards, and other simple matter.—W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

PRINTING of any description. Cheapest house in country for leaflets, &c. Speedy delivery.—Gait & Son, Shipley, Yorks. Entirely PPU.

### RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### SITUATIONS

#### Wanted

ACCOUNTANT (22), Christian pacifist, Articles terminated; final exam. just taken. Position (temporary owing to age) in London desired.—Box 279, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

CO (conditional exemption) must obtain Agricultural Work. Inexperienced—willing—live in. A Munday, "Cloves," Haddenham, Bucks.

EDUCATED SINGLE WOMAN, 30, any domestic, nursery, or institutional work where freedom and Christian pacifism valued.—Briscoe, Vicarage, East Cowes, Isle of Wight.

PACIFIST (29), chartered accountant, certified secretary, A.V.A. knowledge builders' quantities, accounts, urgently requires any job anywhere.—Williams, "Kings," Dolgelly, Merioneth.

YOUNG MAN, conscientious objector, Christian, urgently requires work compatible with conscience. Any part of the country.—G. Davies, 18 Willow Road, Farncombe, Godalming Surrey.

### TYPEWRITING

FAMOUS LONDON-MADE RIBBONS Half-price, 20s. dozen, 11s. half-dozen 2s. each, postage paid. State machine and colour(s).—Lamb's, Adelphi Chambers, Preston, Lancs.

### WHERE TO STAY

EDINBURGH.—Mrs. Johnson has accommodation for a few paying guests. Food Reform. Vegetarian.—157 Colinton Road.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, King's Cross, W.C.1. B. and B. 5s., Double 8s. 6d.—Ter. 3572.

PAYING GUESTS WELCOMED.—Detached house, beautifully situated. Excellent golfing and fishing facilities. Modern conveniences. Garage.—Apply Box 278, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.



## Why Our Sales Are Important

"Quite spontaneously two young men at last week's meeting of the Luton group of the Peace Pledge Union confessed that it was only through seeing 'Peace News' on sale in the street that they discovered there was a pacifist organization in the town.

"The rising membership of the Luton PPU and Christian Pacifist Groups is probably largely due to the consistent efforts of Mr. B. G. Millward, 'Peace News' sales organizer. Street sales now average six dozen weekly."

THAT report from our Luton correspondent should encourage anyone who wonders whether street-selling of *Peace News* is really worth while. For it shows that it can be a most effective method of spreading the pacifist message.

Our circulation figures show that sales in this and other ways are keeping at a good level. Last week we printed 36,866 copies, and the week before that 36,269 copies. In each case only about 200 copies remained unsold.

The report from Luton will give you some idea of the influence for the pacifist movement which this circulation represents.

The supporters of the *Peace News* Fund have also been "doing their bit" for peace.

Donations for the past two weeks total £17 15s. 11d. (Last week very heavy demands on our space prevented us from giving the figure.) The Fund has now reached a grand total of £380 3s. 3½d.

Though the great pressure on our space has made it impossible for us to continue the practice of acknowledging in *Peace News* individual subscriptions to the Fund, we wish to make an exception in the case of an ex-soldier who for some weeks has sent us his pension. A contribution of £1 0s. 6d. from this source is included in the above total.

(The *Peace News* Fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

## PEACE NEWS

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3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
Telephone: Stamford Hill 6137

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Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS  
No. 183 15.12.39

## Women's Call To Queen

THE following message to the Queen will be put forward from the platform at the mass meeting of women to be held in Central Hall, Westminster, tomorrow:

"We come, Your Majesty, representing thousands of women in the sincere conviction that we are expressing the desire of all thoughtful women throughout the world that war should cease.

"We urge the return of methods of reason and negotiation at the earliest possible moment, because we believe that a conference now, and not after the slaughter and suffering of millions, would hold out real hope of a just and lasting peace. We feel that our great commonwealth of nations should be prepared to take the initiative by making an offer of such sacrifices as are necessary to secure justice and freedom for all peoples.

"For the sake of children everywhere, we work for an international conference now, and we pray Your Majesty to help us in this urgent effort by any means in your gracious power."

The message will be taken to the Queen by a delegation of thirteen women.

## VERA BRITAIN (Continued from page 1)

selves against the larger assaults of destiny. Only by the persistent violation of the values taught us in our childhood, have a few women of my own and my mother's generation learnt that no catastrophe is "inevitable" unless we do nothing to avert or remove it.

Today, when humanity depends for salvation from its present grim dilemma upon the virtues of courage, initiative and determination, the infinite capacity of women for resignation has become a positive menace to the civilization which their united efforts could save. That is why I specially welcome the courage and enterprise shown by the organizers of the Women's Demonstration on December 16th. I hope that every woman who realizes her personal responsibility for the coming of peace will show by her presence that she intends to play her part.

## American Youth Opposes War

AMERICAN youth is not allowing the voice of peace to be swamped by war propaganda.

From December 27 to 29 a National Youth Anti-War Congress will be held in Chicago, called by individuals and organizations which have united on a minimum programme which, in their opinion, meets present needs.

A Youth Committee Against War was also founded, and has continued its work based on the following programme, adopted at the Congress held last December.

1. A halt to the steady militarization of the United States;
2. An end to the protection of American dollars at the risk of American lives;
3. Passage of a genuine war referendum amendment to the US Constitution;
4. Rejection of the international police force concept of US foreign policy;
5. Abandonment of all plans for industrial mobilization;
6. Endorsement of the student strike against war;
7. Promotion of alternatives to armaments economics at home;
8. Advancement of real internationalism based on peace and justice.

## THE RISE OF THE NAZIS

The historical and economic causes underlying the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany were dealt with by S. Goldstein at a packed meeting held in Conway Hall, London, by the Socialist Party of Great Britain on Friday.

He said that the seeds of Nazism were sown in 1848, when the rising German capitalist class, faced with independent working-class demands, failed to obtain control of the political machine and compromised with the land-owning aristocrats.

In the course of a rapid industrial development, the bourgeoisie obtained economic ascendancy, but the old aristocratic class retained the official positions.

A full democracy was obtained only after the war of 1914-18, but the Weimar Republic, which started with the suppression of working-class movements in Germany, was doomed to failure, for now the rise of the Soviet power in Russia had given birth to the idea that Parliament was outmoded. This, combined with the widespread misery caused by the economic depression, facilitated the rise of the Nazi Party.

The speaker said it was to be hoped that the workers of Germany had learned the lesson of the dictatorship—that great men cannot solve their problems for them.

## How Objectors Are Faring Before Local Tribunals

IN the following analysis of decisions of the local tribunals, A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service:

London, December 5			
A	6	C	9
B	6	D	7
Total 22			

South-Eastern, December 5			
A	2	C	4
B	11	D	2
Total 19			

This tribunal was hearing London cases on this date.

South Wales, Nov. 27, 29, & 30			
A	4	C	8
B	22	D	1
Total 35			

In addition, two cases were adjourned and in two cases decisions were to be notified by post.

South-Western December 7, 8, and 9			
A	16	C	10
B	30	D	—
Total 56			

In addition, four cases were postponed. Our observer reports that "if a man puts up a really convincing case for unconditional exemption he gets it," and that "when non-combatant service is given, with few exceptions, it has been requested."

Midlands (sitting at Derby) December 4			
A	3	C	1
B	25	D	5
Total 34			

Midlands (sitting at Nottingham) December 5 and 6			
A	—	C	6
B	41	D	9
Total 59			

A correspondent who attended these sittings considers that "the chairman was very fair and kind to the young men. There was one thing that he did not like and that was the term 'military machine.'"

Newcastle December 5 and 6			
A	9	C	6
B	21	D	6
Total 45			

Our observer comments that "the experience gained in previous sittings has produced an atmosphere of maturity, and tribunals and applicants appeared to meet with an improved understanding of each others' difficulties.

The emphasis this time was on work of national importance, but inquiries as to what this involved were not convincingly met.

Cambridge, December 8			
A	3	C	2
B	—	D	1
Total 6			

An observer writes: "The cases were young men from Norwich, who were presumably not undergraduates. It was impossible therefore to judge the previous criticism of class prejudice, but there was most certainly no allowance made for those who could not express themselves clearly. There seemed also a bias in favour of those who expressed their objections on religious grounds. The tribunal asserted its own views considerably, and a number of offensive comments were made."

### Tribute to a Tribunal

To the Editor of *Peace News*

I should like to express my gratitude to the Southwark Tribunal for the way in which they have handled my own and other cases.

Their gentlemanly bearing, their kindness, consideration and patience mark them all as being most able and sincere workers in an all too unpleasant task.

Whatever may be the attitude of other tribunals, this one at least shows that some of the efforts of the Government are hardly as hopeless as one can well be led to suppose.

BRIAN DICKSON

St. Patrick's Hall,  
Reading.

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO  
DELIVER "PEACE NEWS"  
EVERY WEEK

### Aid for C.O.s

The West London Region of the Peace Pledge Union has set up a committee for the advice and assistance of C.O.s.

The initial work of the committee will be to compile a register of all men of military age within the Region who are resisting or who propose to resist conscription. Although this will be primarily concerned with PPU members, it is also intended to include those objectors who, though not members, are in any way in touch with the PPU groups.

After the compilation of the register the work of the committee will fall into the following categories: (a) the advising of C.O.s before the Tribunal; (b) the advising of C.O.s after the Tribunal; (c) watching at Tribunals and protesting against unfair decisions and misinterpretations of the conscience clause; (d) maintaining contact after the Tribunal's decision has been put into effect; and (e) financially assisting C.O.s and their dependents.

The secretary is John Naumass, 13 Shaa Road, Acton, W.3, from whom further particulars can be obtained.

### For Scottish Resisters

Members of the No Conscription League in the West of Scotland have launched a fund to aid the C.O.s in their district. A Fund committee has been established, details about which are obtainable from the Fund Secretary, Dan McArthur, 3 Househillwood Crescent, Househillwood, Glasgow.

## "ST. JOAN" WILL SPEAK



Dame Sybil Thorndike

## WOMEN SAY : "STOP the WAR!"

at Central Hall, Westminster,  
TOMORROW  
Saturday, December 16 (2.30 p.m.)

### SPEAKERS INCLUDE :

Dame Sybil Thorndike; Vera Britain;  
Ruth Fry; Mary Gamble; Mrs. Innes;  
The Mother of a Conscientious Objector.

### ADMISSION FREE.

Some reserved seats at 6d. from Women's  
Peace Campaign, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

STOP PRESS